

43429

National Library
of CanadaBibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Division

Division des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

James Raymond

HAWCO

Date of Birth — Date de naissance

JUNE 21 1936

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance

CANADA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

HARBOUR MAIN, CON. BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

Change, Dependency and the Catholic Church in
Five Newfoundland Communities

University — Université

Alberta

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

MA in Community Develpt

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1979

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse

Dr. G. Tarn

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF
CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of
the film.The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈ-
QUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de
prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse
ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou
autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date

October 4, 1979

Signature

James R Hawco



National Library of Canada

Cataloguing Branch
Canadian Theses Division

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Direction du catalogage
Division des thèses canadiennes

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

**THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED**

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

CHANGE, DEPENDENCY
AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN
FIVE NEWFOUNDLAND COMMUNITIES

by



JAMES R. HAWCO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

DIVISION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1979

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Change, Dependency and the Catholic Church in Five Newfoundland Communities", submitted by James Raymond Hawco in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Gordon F. ...

Supervisor

Deane ...

R. A. Bendigast

Date . October 4, 1979 . .

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to appraise a personal belief that in the contemporary society of rural Newfoundland, the Catholic Church has not generally been an effective agent of authentic human development.

To achieve this purpose, I have examined changes in five outport communities since 1949 in the areas of community government, housing and Catholic Church activity. Throughout this examination, the Catholic Church was the prominent point of focus. My problem was to relate these changes to dependency patterns, and to determine whether the changes have contributed to the reduction or promotion of dependency.

The data used in this determination include: views and sentiments of residents of the five communities; observations of others knowledgeable about outport Newfoundland; and my own knowledge as a Catholic priest resident in four of the five communities since 1959.

Development, in the sense of authentic human development, is understood as "a process through which an individual is capable of personal growth and fulfillment." Dependency is understood as "reliance on another," with the literature placing emphasis on the economic component while recognizing the implications for all areas of human activity.

The findings of this study indicate that the patterns of

dependency relationships in the three areas of interest have changed greatly since 1949, and are reflective of the effects of modernization and secularization on communities, institutions and individuals involved.

The traditional dependence on the Church and the central government in matters of community interest has been largely replaced by a self-reliance through local representative government.

In housing, dependence on external financing has replaced traditional self-reliance, although there is now greater choice and flexibility relative to styles and plans in house construction.

The traditional dependency relationship between parishioners and the local priest in matters both spiritual and secular has been greatly modified. There is no longer any dependency on the priest in temporal matters. In parish and religious matters, there has been a general lessening of dependence on the priest and the Church. The major variables here are the age of the people involved, and the personality, attitudes and ability of the individual priest.

Older people tend generally to consider the priest as the only voice on religious matters in the parish except where parish councils have been put into effect. In these latter instances, dependence on the priest is limited to sacramental functions reserved to an ordained minister. Younger people (under age forty) seem to have little dependence on the priest or the Church.

Modernization, with its effects on communities, institutions and individuals, is considered to have caused most of the changes in the dependency patterns. The inconsistency of the pattern in the

area of Catholic Church activity stems from a combination of factors: most particularly, the ineffective implementation of Church policy, and the individualistic nature of the Catholic priest.

On the basis of the findings and my past experience in these communities, I have stated a number of implications and made a number of suggestions aimed at promoting further dependency reduction in the three areas of interest.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completion of this thesis has involved the kindness, understanding and generosity of many friends to whom I would now like to express my thanks.

To my thesis supervisor, Dr. Gordon Fearn, I extend sincere thanks for his friendship and interest during the course of my study. I extend this appreciation to the other members of my thesis committee, Father Russ Pendergast and Dr. Dhara Gill for their encouragement and generous assistance. I would also like to thank Dr. George Kupfer, for his interest.

To the many individuals in Newfoundland who contributed information for my research and whose names are listed in Appendix B, I am most appreciative.

For their kindness during the course of this study I thank Jean Brown, Cora Arends, Norma Jean Richards and David Leamon.

I am deeply indebted to Kathy Laverty for her kindness and effort in helping to prepare the final format of this study.

A special thankyou to Mary Johnston for her kindness in typing most of the initial drafts and as well the final draft of this thesis, and for her patience and understanding throughout.

I am very appreciative of the financial assistance received from Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation in carrying out the study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION	1
	Statement of the Problem	1
	Significance of the Problem	3
	Specific Objectives of the Study	11
	Data Collection	12
	Framework of Analysis	16
	Plan of Work	17
	Limitations of the Study	18
II	DEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCY: A FRAMEWORK	21
	Introduction	21
	Communities as Social Systems	22
	Perspectives on Development	23
	Prevalence of Dependency	30
	Framework for Analysis	37
III	RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE	40
	Introduction	40
	History and Evolution to 1949	40
	Summary	77
IV	THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE	83
	Introduction	83
	The Church Prior to the Second Vatican Council	83
	Relevant Content of the Second Vatican Council	85

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
The Church After the Second Vatican Council . . .	90
Summary	104
V DYNAMICS OF DEPENDENCY IN RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND: A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS	111
Introduction	111
Changes in Community Government, 1949-1979 . . .	111
Changes in Housing, 1949-1979	123
Changes in Role and Influence of the Church, 1949-1979	132
Implications for Dependency Relationships	147
IV CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS	161
Conclusions	161
Implications and Suggestions	165
Concluding Statement	177

BIBLIOGRAPHY	179
APPENDICES	197
A Outline of Questionnaire Used in Interviews . . .	197
B List of Those Interviewed	198
C The Findings	200

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	Description	PAGE
1	Newfoundland Live Birth and Death Rates per 1,000 Population, 1921-1975	52
2	Newfoundland: Average Yearly Net Migration, and Rate of Migration per 1,000 Population, 1946-1976	53
3	Rural and Urban Population of Newfoundland and Percentages Rural and Urban for Census Years, 1951-1976	54
4	Number of Communities in Newfoundland by Population and Community, Census Years 1961, 1971	55
5	Quality of Housing--1961	59

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1	Map of Newfoundland Indicating the Five Communities	4
2	Map of Catholic Dioceses in Insular Newfoundland	96

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In recent decades, Western societies have experienced dramatic changes brought about by technological progress. Secularization and modernization in every form have forced major adjustments in societal and personal life, with Newfoundland experiencing the effects of these trends and advances in many profound ways since World War II.

The path to modernization for Newfoundland was through industrial development involving a growth-centre strategy prompting adoption of a policy of population centralization. Newfoundland's outport communities had little input into these decisions, their fate largely being determined by the central government. The resulting control and domination was merely an extension of the traditional dependence of outport communities on the central government, the local Church and local business.

Since 1949, however, outport society has undergone extensive change and adjustment. The problem for this study is to relate specific changes in five outport communities to patterns of dependency in order to determine if and how these changes have lessened or promoted dependency. To meet this problem, I have chosen to study three specific areas of interest in outport life: community government, housing, and the role and influence of the Catholic Church. The choice of community government and Church influence as foci is based

on their traditionally strategic relationship to dependency patterns in outport Newfoundland. Housing has been included because of a research grant from the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

The research data are analyzed from a dependency perspective which emphasizes forces impeding self-reliance and self-determination. Dependency relationships are studied in their economic, political, socio-cultural, religious, locational and psychological contexts. Choice of a dependency perspective results from my studies in community and human-resource development, reinforced by the Newfoundland-related writings of contemporary authors, and by the dependency-related concepts and principles of Latin American liberation theology.

While much has been written in recent years about the changes that have occurred in rural Newfoundland since 1949, this study takes on a unique perspective. It focuses on changes as they relate to two significant realities: a) that between 1949 and 1972 ". . . every facet of Newfoundland life was drastically altered . . ." as J. R. Smallwood strove to promote social and economic development (Matthews, 1978-79:89); and b) that since the Second Vatican Council of the 1960's, the Catholic Church, for so long a strong and almost inflexible force in outport society, has been undergoing the stress and strain of its own change and adjustments.

Both of the above historical realities are intimately related to changes in the three aspects of outport life which are examined in this study. Among other things, the development policies advocated by Smallwood initiated programs of community resettlement, the

promotion of local government and the construction of fish-processing plants in various locations around the Province.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

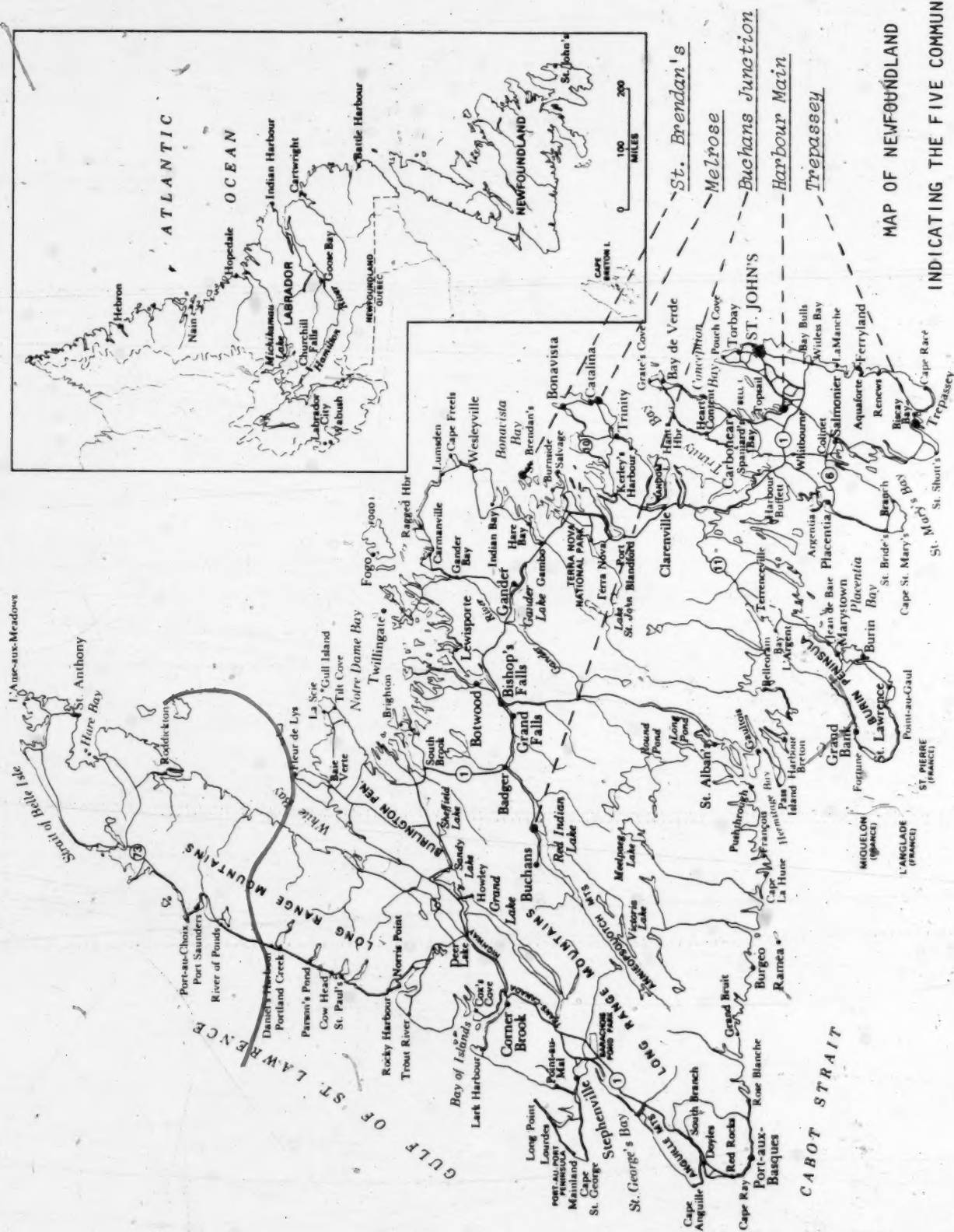
Institutions as Obstacles to Development

Dependency is antidevelopmental. Yet, much activity carried out in the name of development promotes, rather than reduces, dependency. Therefore, it is important to determine the relationships between people and their communities on the one hand, and the institutions that are attempting to develop or help them, on the other. In some cases, dependency has merely been transferred to another agency--oftentimes the developing agency or worker.

This has serious implications for outport Newfoundland communities which historically have been characterized by strong dependency relationships between residents and the central government, the Church and local business. The significance of the problem is obvious if these or other institutions continue to promote a dependency relationship, and thereby inhibit authentic development. In the past, such a relationship could be rationalized because of various historical, geographical (locational), cultural and religious factors. Today, however, in view of vast changes in all sectors of outport life since World War II, if dependency patterns remain to the same extent, their rationalization is hardly justifiable.

This study intends to determine the nature of the changes in community government, housing and Catholic Church activity, and the effects of these changes on dependency patterns in the five outport

FIGURE 1



MAP OF NEWFOUNDLAND

INDICATING THE FIVE COMMUNITIES 4

communities.

The Communities

To provide a clearer picture of the significance of the problem of dependency in the five communities, a brief profile of each community follows. The profiles point out the almost exclusive presence of the Catholic Church, the shift in the economic base of each community, the general move to self-determination through local government, and the peculiar locational circumstances of several of the communities.

Each community profile is prefaced by a tabular presentation of information pertinent to this study. The location of each community is indicated on the map on page 4.

St. Brendan's

<u>Subject</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1979</u>
Population	727	529 (65% under age 35)
Households	130	100
Religion	100% R.C.	100% R.C.
Local government	None	Community council
Main industry	Inshore fishery and U.S. bases	Inshore fishery and Great Lakes shipping

St. Brendan's is an island about nine miles long and three miles wide situated in Bonavista Bay, and lying approximately ten miles from Glovertown. There are four communities on the island: Dock Cove, Hayward's Cove, Shalloway Cove and Shoals Cove, connected by nine miles of road. The only local industry is the inshore fishery which, in 1976, involved about fifty men. Except for work in the three local

stores, the power plant or teaching, there is little full-time employment on the island. A few men are involved in construction work or with the Canadian National Railway, but most have to rely for employment on the Great Lakes or the Western Arctic for four or five months each year.

The island has modern conveniences, a local government, a regular ferry service, a medical clinic conducted every two weeks, a telephone service, and in winter a regular air service to Gander. There is a modern school located in Shoals Cove¹ with a pupil enrolment of 136, and a large church with a permanent parish priest.

Most people have gardens and some families keep livestock, although these practices seem to be on the decline. Until recent years boat building was a winter industry, but this also seems to have died out.

In January 1979, the most serious complaint voiced by residents related to the small size of the ferry and inadequate docking facilities which make it difficult to bring in bulk goods, especially refrigerated food. This problem appears close to resolution with current plans for a newer, larger ferry and improved docking facilities.

The isolated island location of St. Brendan's, far removed from other communities, had left it dependent on the local priest for medical and police services until the late 1960's.

Melrose

<u>Subject</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1979</u>
Population	268	376 (70% under age 35)
Households	60	78
Religion	100% R.C.	100% R.C.
Community government	None	Community Council
Main industry	Inshore fishery	Fish Plant (Port Union)

The community of Melrose lies on the newly paved Bonavista highway about one mile west of the town of Port Union. It is only minutes from the hospital and police detachment in Bonavista, and within three hours' drive of St. John's and Gander. Melrose has no industry of its own, but all employable residents work year round in the fish plant at Port Union.

Two small stores supply the retail grocery and general light-goods trade. There is no school, no church and no resident priest. Students are bussed to the central schools in Port Union and Catalina², and parishioners attend the Catholic church in Port Union.³ Modern conveniences and services are available partly through the efforts of the Community Council.

Buchans Junction

<u>Subject</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1979</u>
Population	73	220 (80% under age 35)
Households	15	78
Community government	None	None
Religion	50% R. C.	50% R.C.
Main industry	Buchans mine and "Outfitting"	Buchans mine

Buchans Junction is a small community on the Buchans - Badger highway about 20 miles north of Buchans and 30 miles south of Badger.

The community is about twenty minutes by car from hospital and police services in Buchans, and less than an hour from a major shopping area and regional offices of the provincial government in Grand Falls. Located at the extreme east end of Red Indian Lake, it is one of the most scenic and historic areas of Newfoundland.⁴ There is no school; students are bussed either to the schools at Millertown (elementary) or Buchans (secondary). Both the Catholic and Anglican congregations maintain a small mission church (a converted school which also doubles as a hall). There is no resident priest or minister since Buchans Junction is a mission of the Catholic and Anglican parishes at Buchans.

Buchans Junction has no local industry with residents employed at the mining operation in Buchans or with government Wildlife or Parks services. There are three local stores, and a club or lounge. Although there is no local government, most modern conveniences are available.⁵

Harbour Main

<u>Subject</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1979</u>
Population	444	1313* (70% under age 35)
Households	75	250
Community government	None	Rural District Council
Religion	100% R.C.	95% R.C.
Main industry	U.S. Bases	Construction and service industries

*Increase due to boundary change.

The community of Harbour Main is located approximately 30 miles by road north-west of St. John's. Since 1976, its boundaries have been extended to include the communities of Lake View and Charles Cove. In recent years, Harbour Main seems to resemble a dormitory community for St. John's, and a number of city residents have built homes in the community. Being within an hour's drive of St. John's, residents have access to medical and specialized services in the city, although local supermarkets and stores fulfill daily consumer needs. Police and banking services are located in Holyrood, five miles distant. Paved roads and most modern services in the community are the result of the efforts of local government since 1965. As yet, however, there is no community water and sewer system.

There is a resident priest, a large church and convent with an elementary school. High school students are bussed to the nearby central high school at Avondale.

Most employment is either in St. John's or at the oil refinery and generating plants in Holyrood. There is only one full-time fishing crew, although during the season most boys and many part-time fishermen have a very profitable engagement in the squid fishery.⁶

Trepassey

<u>Subject</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1979</u>
Population	532	1430* (65% under age 35)
Households	100	310
Community government	None	Town Council
Religion	100% R.C.	80% R.C.
Main industry	Inshore fishery & U.S. Bases	Fish Plant

*Increase due to boundary change.

The community of Trepassey is situated on the southern tip of the Avalon Peninsula between St. Shotts and Cape Race. It is approximately 80 miles by road from St. John's. Established in 1617, Trepassey is one of the oldest communities in North America, and is also one of the largest communities on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula.

In addition to the fish plant⁷ which employs the majority of working residents year round, the Department of Transport Loran Station at Cape Race provides its workers with rental housing in Trepassey. A number of local stores and trade services operate in the community.

The two schools, elementary and secondary, are relatively modern, both operated by the Roman Catholic School Board of St. Mary's. There is a large Catholic church, a convent and a resident priest.

A strong town council, a number of community and service clubs, a modern medical clinic and an RCMP detachment are also located in Trepassey.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This is an exploratory study of the phenomenon of dependency in five outport communities in Newfoundland. It was undertaken as a means of appraising a personal conviction that, in the traditionally Church-dominated society of rural Newfoundland, contemporary Catholic Church structure and activity have been largely ineffective in the reduction of dependency relationships and the promotion of authentic human development.

A prime objective of this study is to relate the changes in community government, housing and Church activity to patterns and changes in dependency in the five communities.

A second objective is to assess the effectiveness of the Catholic Church in reducing dependency and promoting authentic human development in the three areas of interest.

A third objective is to draw, from the data collected and my own experience, some practical considerations which could lead to further dependency reduction in the areas of local government, housing and Catholic Church activity.

DATA COLLECTION

The Information Required

In order to fulfill the objectives of this study, the following kinds of information are deemed to be necessary: a description of the changes that have occurred since 1949 by people who were actually involved; a description of these changes by knowledgeable outside observers; statistical information on the three subject areas; an assessment by experts on social change; and information regarding the development policies of institutions involved with the five communities.

The above information is available by interviewing residents of the five communities and members of government and church organizations involved in these communities; from the social research studies of Memorial University and elsewhere; in the files and minutes of various Church organizations; and in the statistical records of various government departments.

I have lived in four of the five communities for at least five years. I was born and raised in Harbour Main, and functioned as parish priest in St. Brendan's (1959-64), Melrose (1964-70), and Buchans Junction (1970-77). I am aware, however, that many changes in different spheres have taken place over the years since my involvement in several of these communities. Also, I am aware of the need for care and objectivity as regards my participation in these communities.

Methodology

As a method of study, I devised an approach which is a modified

version of that used by Matthews (1976) and Cohen (1975). I determined six key social roles that could be found in most rural communities and contacted the persons filling these roles to supply the information I needed. The roles were those of leaders: the merchant, the teacher⁸, the mayor, the president of the parish council or other Church organization, and two other charismatic community leaders without institutional positions.

An obvious danger in choosing leadership roles is that the real feelings of the "ordinary" citizen may not be heard. In an attempt to obviate this possibility, should no "ordinary" person be found in any of the above-mentioned roles, I included at least one interview with such a person in each community.

Another danger I saw was that I might rule out input from young people. To avoid this, I informally talked with young people about their impressions vis-a-vis the Church, local government and housing. To facilitate this discussion, I arranged to either stay with a young couple while in the community, or planned for some kind of sports competition while there so as to make contact with the younger people.⁹

Since I had worked in these communities and was personally familiar with the people I would interview, there were certain necessary procedures of courtesy. Since these were mainly "Catholic" communities, I contacted the Bishop of the Diocese and each of the priests involved and received their approval to conduct the interviews. To make direct contact with parishioners while asking questions about the role and influence of the priest would otherwise have created difficulties.

Since, in each community, several of the "social roles" could have been filled by more than one person, selection of individuals was necessary. To facilitate this selection, I asked the parish priest and each person interviewed to suggest interviewees who would meet my criteria. In most cases the suggestions were similar and in line with my own selections. I then arranged by telephone for an interview with each of these leaders.

Another potential problem lay in the smallness of the subject communities. For example, it would have been unwise to interview one merchant if there were only two or three in the community. The same held true for the so-called "charismatic" leaders. Consequently, although I actually conducted full interviews with just six people in each community, I usually talked to as many as a dozen or more in each place. In fact, those informal discussions provided much valuable information, especially regarding the role and influence of the Church.

I thought initially that my interviewees might be predominantly male, but this was not the case. Usually the wife or husband remained during the interview, and I encouraged their participation. To record the data, I depended almost exclusively on note-taking while the interview was in progress, and when necessary, amended my notes immediately following to ensure completeness.

My interview schedule was simple (Appendix A), and after the first interview, I conducted the discussions without reference to the written outline. The approach was very informal and the questions open-ended. In each case, since the respondents knew of my familiarity with the subject, I advised them before beginning that "I would be

acting and asking questions as if I had never heard tell of them before." This approach helped relieve any tension and sometimes we strayed from the subject, with some of the discussions lasting up to five hours.

Between my visits to the five communities, I arranged a "brainstorming" session with a group of priests from the central Newfoundland area in which I had worked up to 1977. During this session, which was a regular deanery¹⁰ meeting, we discussed for two hours, the role of the Church and the priest in rural communities in the Diocese. At this time, I was also able to examine the minutes of the various Church organizations, both on the diocesan and provincial level. These minutes did not go back further than 1970 since, prior to that time, there was little if any structure within the Diocese that dealt with policy formation.

To provide a general overview of the study area, I interviewed several people who are authorities on Newfoundland from different perspectives. These included Bishop A. L. Penney of Grand Falls Diocese, former Premier J. R. Smallwood, and several local historians and media people who had been actively involved in outport life prior to Confederation. A list of all individuals interviewed is provided in Appendix B.

To provide a national perspective, especially regarding the role of the Catholic Church today, I had discussions with several eminent Church authorities on the national scene.¹¹

Other Data Sources

The remainder of my research involved library investigation in the areas of development, Catholic Church social policy, Newfoundland history generally, and also the history of local government and housing in Newfoundland.

I utilized official documents of the Catholic Church to determine general Church policy, and have placed the local Newfoundland situation against that background.

Documented information relative to housing and local government was obtained from official reports of the relevant government departments, the reports of Statistics Canada, and through Memorial University's Extension Service publication, Decks Awash.

FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

The Framework

Since dependency was a dominant characteristic of Newfoundland outport life prior to 1949, the use of a dependency perspective in the analysis of the data is central to this study. In Chapter II, the concept and perspective of dependency are treated in some detail.

My primary concern is to determine whether the already present conditions of dependency were further promoted by the post-Confederation changes, or whether they were alleviated to some degree. A further concern is to determine the degree of promotion or alleviation of dependency, and the causes.

My intention is to determine whether the changes in local government, housing and Church activity have affected dependencies,

and in what way. In view of the liberative nature of many of the trends and directions provided to the Catholic Church by the Second Vatican Council, I intend to focus in particular on the role of the Church as a potential agent of liberative change in the study communities. I want to see if the past history of a paternalistic, dominating relationship has been altered by the Vatican Council changes. If so, how is this reflected in outport parish/communities? If not, then why not?

PLAN OF WORK

The study is descriptive in nature. The basic source of information is the notes taken in the interviews. Using these notes, plus information from historical literature and statistics as well as personal knowledge, I compiled a case study for each of the communities. These studies, condensed and in point form (local government, housing and Church activity) are found in Appendix C.

This thesis is organized so as to provide a logical sequence of information enabling the reader to relate the concept and fact of dependency to the areas of community government, housing and Church activity in the contexts of historical and contemporary Newfoundland.

The first chapter provides the general background to the problem, the objectives of the thesis, and the methods of data collection. Chapter II presents a review of the literature relating to development and dependency. This literature provides the basis of an analytical framework to be used later in the examination of dependency in outport Newfoundland. Background information necessary

for the understanding of outport dependency is presented in Chapter III. This chapter offers an historical perspective of rural Newfoundland of which the five communities are a part. Because of the Church's traditionally-central role in rural Newfoundland life, and in view of recent innovations introduced by the Second Vatican Council, Chapter IV examines dependency-related policies and activities of the contemporary Catholic Church. Using the dependency framework developed in Chapter II an analysis of the data on community government, housing and Church activity is then provided in Chapter V. The final chapter consists of conclusions drawn from the data analysis. It also presents dependency-related implications in the areas of local government, housing and Church activity. From these implications, and from personal experience and knowledge of the areas, suggestions are offered for the further reduction of dependency in the three spheres of interest.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

An obvious and intended limitation of the study is that it does not necessarily portray a typical outport community, nor indeed a typical "Catholic" outport community. The subject communities were not chosen as representing other than themselves.

The procedure used for data collection involved limitations. The choice of leaders in each community was sometimes arbitrary, although subjectivity was lessened by the selection having primarily been based on determined "social roles."

Limiting the research to social leaders in each community was also a constraint forced on me by lack of time and resources. To help

overcome this limitation, I endeavoured to discuss at least the main points with as many individuals in each community as time permitted.

Because of my previous involvement in several of the communities, it might be anticipated that some degree of bias would colour my interpretation. To overcome this, I have followed as closely as possible the wording and expressions used in the interviews.

Finally, this study is more thorough in its discussion of the Catholic Church than about community government and housing. This limitation occurred because of my personal interest, knowledge and experience in that area.

FOOTNOTES

¹In Shoal's Cove, the main community, there is also the church, post office, parish hall, medical clinic, government wharf and three of the four stores.

²Until 1969, there was a six room, all-grade school at Melrose which was closed when St. Catherine's Central Elementary School opened at Port Union.

³Bonavista parish includes seven communities (thirteen in 1964) extending south to Trinity. The total parish population is approximately 700.

⁴Red Indian Lake is considered to be the last home of the native and now extinct Beothuk Indians.

⁵Two ad hoc "citizens' committees" formed since 1976 are responsible for garbage collection and water and sewer service.

⁶The season runs from July to November. This fishery is cyclical and as well very inefficiently organized. The main problem is markets. In recent years, most residents of Harbour Main have fared extremely well from the squid fishery.

⁷Owned and operated by Fishery Products Limited which also conducts a similar operation in Port Union.

⁸Since there were a number of teachers in most communities, usually the senior principal was selected for interview.

⁹In most of the communities I had been actively involved in sports and with many of the younger people prior to my resumption of studies in 1977.

¹⁰There are three deaneries (groups of about ten parishes) in Grand Falls Diocese, with regular monthly meetings on common issues and problems.

¹¹Bishop Remi DeRoo of Victoria, B.C., and Bishop Joseph MacNeill of Edmonton, Alberta, both of whom are eminent in the field of social action in the Catholic Church in Canada.

Chapter II

DEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCY: A FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

Since 1949, Newfoundland has experienced the effects of a government policy which has emphasized development through industrialization. The aim of this policy was to bring about modernization of a subsistence economy and life-style. Pursuit of this policy demanded many things, including the promotion of local self-government in hundreds of isolated communities, and the centralization of a very dispersed rural population. Such programs have had serious effects on the communities in this study, and on the patterns of dependency relationships involved. Some contemporary authors claim that what has resulted since Confederation is, in the words of Matthews (1978-79), "a legacy of underdevelopment" and increased dependency.

Since this is a study of developmental change on a particular kind of social system--the Newfoundland outport, the literature review first looks at some basic notions about social systems. This is followed by a discussion of development in its various dimensions and meanings. To provide the framework of a dependency perspective, there then follows an examination of dependency literature. This includes the notion and the fact of dependency, its general components, and also the termination of dependency--liberation.

COMMUNITIES AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Social systems are defined by Loomis and Beegle (1950: 3-34) as "organizations composed of persons who interact more with members than with non-members when operating to attain the systems' objective." The basic elements of any social system include its social structure, i.e., the roles, authority and status pattern; and its value orientation, i.e., the objectives and the norms.

The nature and kind of social system is determined by the interrelation of these elements and in particular by the value orientation. Based on the value orientation, two broad types of social systems have been conceptualized--*gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft*. *Gemeinschaft*-type systems are familistic and stress interpersonal ties and relationships as the important value in the system. In such systems, tradition, emotion and the sacred have great importance. *Gesellschaft*-type systems are rationalistic and contractual and stress the attainment of specified goals with little value given to interpersonal relationships.

We may thus consider various social systems along a continuum from the strictly rational, bureaucratic *gesellschaft* to the familial *gemeinschaft*. Along this continuum, Loomis and Beegle place rural communities toward the familial, *gemeinschaft* end of the scale and accord to them the following characteristics: traditional and provincial in thinking and attitudes; high value to Church and religion; virtue perceived in property ownership and control; and emotional and personal relationships considered more important than

rationality and efficiency. Loomis and Beegle (1950) consider that rural farm people are a repository of what is sacred and traditional in the culture, although the impact of the contractual *gesellschaft* upon them is now tremendous.

As a social system moves from a *gemeinschaft* to a *gesellschaft* type, the system undergoes broad transformation. There are changes in objectives, values, roles, and authority patterns among other things. All of these changes relate to dependency patterns within the system. In a *gemeinschaft*-type system, dependency is generally local in nature and is a personal, familial type of relationship. As the social system progresses towards the *gesellschaft* end of the scale, the dependency patterns become less personal and there is greater reliance on exterior, impersonal forces and agencies.

These comments are applicable to the rural communities that provide the subjects of this study. The data analysis in Chapter V allows us to see if and how economic development and modernization have transformed the Newfoundland outport social system. It also enables us to see if and how this transformation has altered the nature and patterns of dependency which existed there in 1949.

PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT

Historically, there have been many emphases and perspectives in dealing with development. These range from the purely economic dimension provided by Rostow (1960) to the moralistic dimension provided by Goulet (1974, 1977). Although theoreticians and prac-

tioners in development still seem to concentrate on the economic factor, there is increasingly more emphasis on the humanistic and moral aspects of development because of greater acceptance by social scientists of the fact that people are more than mere physical entities.

Among the authors who share the broader view of development there is Eugene Stanley (1961) who sees development as "a means of achieving the dignity of the individual," and Dudley Seers (1970) who views it as "a means of realizing the potential of the human personality." Goulet (1977), Gutierrez (1973) and Friere (1968, 1972), following the lead of Perroux (1964) and Lebreton (1967), suggest that for authentic development there is need of a moral dimension which would provide an atmosphere of social justice and ethical values for development activity.

The influence of such humanistic thinking is seen in religious writings on development: papal encyclicals, documents of the World Council of Churches and pastoral letters of bishops in several countries (Goulet, 1971). However, this humanistic viewpoint is not exclusive to Christian-minded scholars. Marxist-inspired writers espousing this perspective include Struik (1964), Lefebvre (1968) and Kosik (1963).

As Goulet points out (1971), there is a tendency today among some social scientists (Myrdal, Gouldner), certain theologians (Garcia, Friere) and some political leaders (Robert Buron and Andre Phillip of France) to unmask the hidden value assumptions conveyed by the term development, while placing deliberate stress on self-

reliance and self-development as opposed to aid, foreign investment and technical assistance. Goulet suggests that to be underdeveloped is to be relegated to a subordinate position in history, to be given the role of adjusting to, not of initiating, technological processes. It is a condition of dependence and helplessness which prohibits mental and spiritual growth whether in circumstances of affluence or of extreme poverty. Speaking of underdevelopment on the personal or micro-level, Wilbur Schramm (1964) very aptly refers to it as, "the incomplete use of human resources."

Using the moralistic or ethical perspective, I posit the following as my definition of authentic development: a process through which an individual is capable of personal growth and fulfillment. Since man involves a complexity of perspectives--political, economic, social, cultural and religious among others, any successful or authentic development necessarily involves in its objectives these and other goals which may at times conflict. The ultimate objective, however, as Seers points out, must always be the pursuit of human dignity and personal growth.

Many authors refer to development as a process along a continuum ranging from the lowest level of human growth to the idyllic stage of total human fulfillment. All persons and nations must fit somewhere along this continuum with perhaps the optimum opportunity for growth being found when certain basic conditions have been met. These conditions include physical (food, shelter), socio-cultural (education), political (social justice and participation in decision-making), economic (a steady rise in the standard of living) and

psychological (feelings of self-reliance and confidence) components. Essential to authentic development are the psychological and political components which allow self-determination and strive for the exclusion of dependency. Of these components, perhaps the most important element is that of participation in the process of development. In order to grow and develop in personality and confidence, a person must be involved in determining his or her future goals and the means to achieve them. So as to promote authentic human growth and development, such participation must be without the demeaning aspects of fear and paternalism, and must provide a free and equal opportunity for all participants.

What is Dependency?

The term dependency is not to be confused with underdevelopment. It can exist under conditions of high per capita income and industrialization. As Mel Watkins (1973: 121) states, Canada is highly dependent on the United States, although itself a modern, developed nation.

In his review of dependency literature, Chicolte (1974: 4-21) presents numerous concepts of dependency while noting that there are as many definitions as there are authors. In all, however, the view is from the macro-level with the initial comprehension of dependency revolving around the relationship of nations, one to another, in terms of dominance versus dependence.

Such an understanding is given in the definition offered by Dos Santos and Sunkel. For Dos Santos (1970: 9), dependence is "a

continuing situation in which the economies of one group of countries are conditioned by the development and expansion of others." Sunkel (1972: 519) comments in elaborating on this, "... foreign factors are seen not as external but as intrinsic to the system, with manifold and sometimes hidden or subtle political, financial, economic, technical and cultural effects inside the underdeveloped country."

Because of this conditioning context, a society dominated by external economic forces is essentially dependent in its internal social, political, economic and cultural structure as well. It cannot become independent by simply overcoming the external economic dominance, since the internal structure of dependency still remains.

The above definition refers to macro-level dependency which may be both cause and effect of dependence at the personal or micro-level. In this study of dependency, the emphasis is placed on political, psychological, cultural and religious factors rather than economic ones. The stress is on micro-level development and dependency. Dependency relationships are judged to exist in the subject communities "wherever there is reliance by individuals or the community on any outside agency to satisfy needs or desires."

The Components of Dependency

The components of dependency vary with the circumstances. For this study, we may add to the economic, political and socio-cultural elements noted in the earlier definition, those of a locational, religious and psychological dimension.

Economic dependency exists wherever the finances of any

person or group is controlled by another. Thus, the Province of Newfoundland is dependent on multi-national business interests in the mining, paper, fishing and refining industries, and also on the Federal Treasury for various transfer payments and grants. Such economic dependency also has effects in every other sphere of activity.

Political dependency exists wherever one's actions and decisions are governed by another. This may be by force or, as in the case of the central government and the Church in pre-Confederation Newfoundland outports, the result of a number of circumstances over a period of time, i.e., the demanding and time-consuming nature of the fishing industry; a history of political repression; and the patronizing presence and activity of the Church.

There can be a locational component to dependency. This is true of any hinterland area relative to the centre on which it depends for essential services and supplies. In this way, Newfoundland outports have traditionally been dependent on the City of St. John's.

The religious or spiritual component of dependency has special significance in this study because of the central role traditionally played by the Catholic Church in the lives of outport people. This reliance on the Church extended beyond the spiritual realm to encompass all facets of life and activity.

The psychological component may be considered as both a cause and an effect of dependency, and cannot be separated from the other components which are often its manifestation.

Explanations of Dependency

In attempting to explain the dependency of Third World countries, there are those who blame dependency on conditions within the underdeveloped area. They see dependency either as a natural consequence of a dual-society structure within the backward region (one advanced and modern, the other backward and feudal), or as a consequence of the domination and exploitation by monopolistic enterprises native to the region. They view development in terms of the successful diffusion of technologies and other resources to these "underdeveloped" areas from the developed regions.

On the other hand, there are some who view dependency from the standpoint of those who are being dominated. This view considers that the contemporary underdevelopment of many parts of the world is created by the same processes that brought development to the industrialized nations in the first place. For example, Latin America is underdeveloped because it has been exploited through colonial and other activities in support of the development of Western Europe and North America. Within each country, the pattern of metropolis-hinterland relations is replicated as the economic surplus of the countryside drains into metropolitan areas.

A number of different formulations of this approach have been offered to explain dependency. For example, in the thesis of A.G. Frank (1966, 1967), dependency is viewed as a consequence of the overdevelopment of the highly industrialized centres which drain the resources of the hinterland farming and fishing areas. Theotino Dos Santos (1970) explains contemporary dependency in terms of

multinational domination of industry through control over export production and cash inflow. Henrique F. Cardoso (1972, 1972-73) suggests that dependent countries and regions are selected as the locus of capitalist development because of the profit motive. A fourth explanation is offered by Cohen (1973) who considers that contemporary dependency is a consequence of a modern type of imperialism by which one country controls another by political or economic means. Sharing this viewpoint there have been a number of Marxist (Rhodes, 1970; Baran and Sweezy, 1966; Bodenheimer, 1971) and non-Marxist (Pachter, 1970; Gantzel, 1973) theses proposed.

PREVALENCE OF DEPENDENCY

From the treatment of the nature of dependency, it would appear that this condition is to be found in all societies in some form and to some degree. Alexander (1974: 4) offers three broad and inter-related variables to explain the fact of regional or national economic dependency: "... a poor or deteriorating resource endowment; an accumulating relative disadvantage with respect to external economies; and political and economic exploitation which may be as much internally generated as externally imposed."

There now follows a brief examination of the reality of dependency as it is found in the Third World, in North America generally, and in Newfoundland.

That dependency is a fact of life for the Third World has been amply revealed to me in discussions with friends who have worked as Catholic missionaries in Peru and Chile, from listening to the words of Bishop Helder Camara of Brazil¹, and from reading about Third World

conditions (Camara, 1969; Bernstein, 1973; Goulet, 1974; Frank, 1969b; Ward, 1962).

According to Gutierrez (1973), the dependency of Latin American countries has evolved from the initial Iberian colonization, to a dependency resulting from industrial development, to the present-day control by multinational corporations of the native industrial effort.

Some understanding of the dependency conditions commonly found in Latin America may be gained from a recent article in which Bishop Antonio Fragoso describes conditions in his diocese in north-east Brazil.

(My) diocese has 350,000 inhabitants who depend heavily on the produce of the rural area. But the land is divided very unfairly. About 12% of the landowners control 62% of the land. More than half the active population has no land.

Credit is not available to the small-holder or landless peasant, so they continue to exist in total dependency on the big landowners, without hope. And the market price for their crop varies enormously, and often does not cover production costs.

All manufactured goods which come from urban centres are subject to uncontrollable price rises. Every year the buying power of their income is irreversibly reduced. (Fragoso, 1978: 7-8).

Although the dependency referred to above is basically economic, it is endemic to Latin American society, and extends to the social, cultural and political sectors as well. This is supported in the writings of Gutierrez (1973), Frank (1969), Cardoso (1972), Dos Santos (1970) and others.

North American society, in spite of its advanced level of modernization and development, is not free from dependency. From the early writings of Harold Innis (1930, 1940) to the more contemporary

works of Watkins (1973, 1977), Alexander (1973, 1974, 1976), Laxer (1973), Naylor (1975), Archibald (1971), Veltmeyer (1977), Teeple (1972), Matthews (1978-79) and many others², the fact of national and regional dependency in Canada is amply documented and discussed.

As shown in the series of articles edited by Robert Laxer (1973: 11), Canada is today experiencing the effects of political and economic domination. "The large American companies and Canadian financial institutions command not only the strategic heights of the economy--they are also masters of the Liberal and Conservative parties and state institutions over which they preside."

Patterns of exploitation, development and underdevelopment seen in the handling of early staples such as fur and cod, are still evident in the handling of modern staples such as minerals, oil and gas. As Watkins states:

The new staples reinforce and accentuate tendencies inherent in staples production. Rather than the Canadian economy becoming more mature and diversified, we find instead that we are increasingly dependent on the United States; increasingly dominated by a handful of giant multinational corporations; and increasingly saddled with an underdeveloped industrial structure. (in Laxer 1973: 121)

The fact of dependency in Newfoundland has been given much study in recent years.³ Among more recent works are the writings of Alexander and Matthews referred to earlier, and Archibald (1971). With a low productivity and very limited self-determination, Newfoundland is, as Alexander (1974) points out, an example of an underdeveloped and dependent economy. The roots of this dependency rest in the phenomenon of modern growth as it confronted Newfoundland's small pre-industrial economy at the end of the Nineteenth Century.

Newfoundland's potential for economic growth at this time was conditioned by several features: a very small economic base with relatively small export value; a pre-industrial economy with a low level of specialization and market activity; a high rate of population increase; and extreme dispersal of population.

In spite of many improvements since Confederation, little has been done to seriously alter these conditions. The development plans and policies pursued since 1949 have, in the words of Ralph Matthews (1978-79: 96), " . . . left the province with a legacy of underdevelopment." Matthews elaborates on this by pointing out that the expending of most of the province's cash resources on amenities demanded by the people or deemed necessary to attract developers resulted in short-term employment but few long-term jobs.

The development philosophy held by both provincial and federal governments was that of the "growth centre," which argued that development could best be achieved through establishment of "propulsive" industries. By 1972, however, after twenty-three years of the Smallwood government development policy, Newfoundland, as Matthews continues, had been unable to break the shackles of economic dependency. The unemployment and out-migration rates were extremely high. It was still almost totally dependent on outside economic interests which continued to drain it of the critical surplus capital that would have made sustained economic development a possibility.

The means chosen for modernization and development (industrialization) has fostered dependency and destroyed much of the self-reliance of outport Newfoundland. A man's livelihood is no

longer determined solely by his own effort and initiative, but now depends largely on the profit-motivated decisions of foreign-owned companies. Centralization has depopulated many formerly self-reliant outports and created pockets of abundant labour which are, in most cases, at the beck and call of government subsidized foreign companies.

To help understand the Newfoundland situation, writers such as those mentioned above have used the metropolis-hinterland model of development outlined by Frank (1967) in his study of underdevelopment in Latin America. From this dependency perspective, the Newfoundland economy can be seen to have a dependency relationship with outside dominant economic centres. These have controlled development possibilities and severely limited diversification and self-sufficiency potential.

Provincial dependency today is obvious when one considers the following factors: the degree of control exercised by multinationals in the fishing, mining and paper industries; the trust and confidence placed in financial promoters such as Shaheen and Doyle⁴; the amount of federal transfer money coming into the province⁵; and Newfoundland's almost total reliance on imports for even the basic necessities of life.

Within the province, regional dependency patterns exist as well. Federal transfer payments and greater mobility have made the outport communities in many ways less dependent on St. John's, but the chains of dependency have merely been moved further afield to Ottawa and Toronto. Although there has been some degree of decentralization in government offices and services, and some business

location in the newer centres such as Lewisporte, Marystown, Clarendville and Grand Falls, most outport communities still look to St. John's or Corner Brook for anything other than routine services or commodities.

Since rural communities or outports are the focus of this study, it is important to comment on the patterns of dependency which have been identified and reported on in many recent studies about Newfoundland. These dependency patterns seem to have changed drastically in recent years, some having been broken and others modified or transferred. While modernization and its effects has done away with much of the political and psychological dependency found in pre-Confederation outport Newfoundland, it has introduced a cultural dependency where before there was none.

In "Catholic" outports, in particular, reliance on the priest in matters spiritual, political, social and sometimes material, has largely given way to dependence on a host of outside agencies and structures as these have become part of the fabric of contemporary outport life.

Liberation from Dependency

The concept "liberation" can best be understood in relation to the process of oppression, domination or colonization and the state of dependency and helplessness that ensues. It is a dynamic concept which, as stated by Paulo Friere (1968: 66), describes ". . . a process of humanization," and involves a praxis which is "the action and reflection upon one's world in order to transform it."

Denis Goulet contrasts the liberation vocabulary with the traditional vocabulary of development. He sees the different vocabularies as representing conflicting interpretations of historical reality, two competing principles of social organization. The first values social justice and the creation of a new man and new society, while the second values efficiency and social control above all.

The reality which has come to be termed the liberation movement owes its embryonic origin to the increased industrialization and urbanization in Latin America since the 1930's. These changes demanded greater participation in the economic and political life of the respective countries. However, as Gutierrez (1973) writes, the failure of developmentalist policies to promote human development, the rise of multinational businesses and their growing control over the economy of Latin America and the appearance of militant peasant masses have brought about an intense process of political radicalization which has come to be known as the liberation movement.

The basic approach of this movement is socialist. Although both theorists (Segundo, Gutierrez and others) and strategists (such as Mariategui, 1971) have contributed to the liberation movement in Latin America, there seems to be an obvious lack in both areas with little in the way of concrete results to indicate much substance.

If there is a theory of "liberation from dependence" it is to be found in the theological writings of Christian scholars in Latin America. These writings were sparked by the more liberal, democratic and humanistic tendencies emanating from the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church.

The *aggiornamento* or opening-up atmosphere and direction of the Council, in a relatively theoretical context, was brought down to earth by the Conference of Catholic Bishops of Latin America (CELAM) in allowing a totally new perspective for Third World problems. They began to see Christian, Gospel ideas and precepts as having concrete application in their own society.

As Gregory Baum (1978: 6), notes, it was the CELAM Conference at Medellin, Colombia in 1968, with its interpretations of the theological concepts of sin, justice and salvation which provided initial impetus for the development of a theology peculiar to the Latin American Church--the theology of liberation. Since that time, however, this theology has not developed to serve the needs of a suffering Church and society. That liberation is needed is not in dispute, but the means of achieving it within a Christian framework while using a Marxist ideology has not yet been worked out.⁶

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

This chapter has looked at various concepts to be used in examining change and its effects on five Newfoundland communities. The five outport communities have been categorized as social systems traditionally of the *gemeinschaft* type. The literature has shown that, since 1949, these systems have been subject to the forces of developmental change and modernization. The claim has also been made that the result of economic development in Newfoundland has been a legacy of underdevelopment and dependency.

The following two chapters provide background information

for an appraisal of this claim to be made in the analysis of the research data in Chapter V. The analysis involves an examination of the Newfoundland outport as a social system in relation to changing values and structures, and asks what has happened to the various dependencies as a result of the changes in values and objectives in these communities. It attempts to determine the effects on dependency of various structural changes in role, status and authority. Based on the research data provided in Appendix C, the analysis outlines various changes that have occurred in the name of development. Included are changes on the economic, political, educational, religious, locational and material levels. These changes are examined to see their effects on patterns and relationships of dependency in three specific areas of interest: local government, housing and Church activity.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Bishop Camara is renowned as one of the strong Third World spokesmen against oppression. On several occasions in recent years, he has spoken in Canada on the theme of solidarity of all mankind in the face of poverty and oppression.

² See R. M. Laxer (ed.), The Political Economy of Dependency, McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto: 1973.

³ Many excellent studies carried out since the mid 1960's by the Maritime History Group and the Institute of Social and Economic Research of Memorial University of Newfoundland have included a dependency component.

⁴ John Shaheen, developer of the Come-by-Chance oil refinery, and John C. Doyle, developer of the Churchill Falls hydro project.

⁵ Unemployment Insurance payments, Family Allowances, Pensions, Equalization Grants, Special Agreements and various other federal programs.

⁶ As a preliminary step in the process of achieving liberation in Latin America, a unique educational process has been promoted and perfected by Paulo Friere, a Brazilian educator. The main objective of this process is the conscientization of the people involved. Friere defines conscientization as "the deepening of the attitude of awareness" (1970: 100). He also refers to it as "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (1970: 19). In a country where illiteracy is endemic, this process begins with the basics of literacy for the individual, and aims at the creation of awareness and concern throughout the society.



Chapter III

RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the historical background of outport society in its evolution to 1949. It also presents an overview of that society by examining its more obvious and distinct characteristics, and by a detailed scrutiny of the various forces and actors which, at least up to 1949, constituted the dynamics of outport life.

HISTORY AND EVOLUTION TO 1949

Due mainly to its strategic position on the Continental Shelf adjacent to the prolific fishing grounds of the Grand Banks, Newfoundland's history is replete with examples of conflict, exploitation and oppression. These locational factors, coupled with the feature of a heavily indented and rugged coastline, gave rise to a characteristic which has coloured much of Newfoundland's past--the fact of isolation. This reality figures prominently in this study of change and dependency. It may in fact be considered as one of the major contributing circumstances in the dependency that, until recently, was characteristic of Newfoundland outports in the areas of self-government and self-expression.

Before proceeding with a study of the changing relationships which are to be examined, some background information is necessary.

What follows is a brief look at the evolution of the economic, political and religious factors that molded Newfoundland outport society into the distinct form it portrayed at the time of Confederation in 1949.

Socio-economic Factors in Outport Evolution

Background. In 1793, the British Under-Secretary of State, William Knox, in discussing official British policy towards Newfoundland states: "The island has been considered, in all former times, as a great ship moored near the Grand Banks during the fishing season, for the convenience of English fishermen." (Murray, 1968: 9 of Introduction). This ship was "owned" by West Country English merchants who were powerful enough to ensure protective legislation for their business interests.

The Newfoundland fishery was exploited by these merchants whose basic motivation was profit. The financial network which evolved created in outport Newfoundland, a structure of dependency and domination which persisted until the mid-Twentieth Century. The local part of this network was based on the "credit system."

The fishery remained the sole source of livelihood for Newfoundland¹ until the late Nineteenth Century, by which time, with given technology and organization, the fishery had reached its limit in terms of the population it could support. Encouraged by the progress resulting from industrialization in Europe and North America, the Newfoundland governments, in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries, embarked on a series of attempts to industrialize the

colony. As the People's Commission on Unemployment (McGrath, 1978: 63) states, most of these industries failed, although the few successes (paper mills at Grand Falls and Corner Brook, and mining operations at Bell Island and Buchans) reinforced faith in the strategy.

Attempts to revitalize and modernize the fishing industry were initiated by William Coaker² in the early 1900's, but the movement was stifled by business-controlled politicians, and the fishery continued its decline and demoralization up to the early 1950's and beyond.

The First World War brought on some ephemeral prosperity with, as Thoms (1967: 543) writes, ". . . fish production and fish prices at an all time high," but as Rowe (1976) reports, this soon disappeared after the war ended so that the public debt increased rapidly and by 1930 had reached the frightening total of \$100,000,000³.

Successive Newfoundland governments, beset by increasing indebtedness, corruption and lack of clear policy direction, eventually led the colony into bankruptcy. From 1933 until Confederation, a British appointed Commission acted as Newfoundland's government.

With the Second World War, Newfoundland's financial picture changed rapidly. The strategic importance of Newfoundland led to the construction of one Canadian and four United States military bases between 1940 and 1943⁴. As Eggleston states:

By July, 1943, there were nearly 11,000 United States military personnel in Newfoundland and a comparable number of Canadians, made up of some 5,700 army personnel along with several thousand air force and navy personnel, the latter moving in and out as the Battle of the Atlantic progressed. (Eggleston, 1974: 8)

By the end of the Second World War, continues Eggleston (1974: 11), "There was a cumulative surplus of \$32,500,000" of government revenue, as opposed to "a cumulative budgetary deficit of \$18,000,000 in the six years to June 30, 1940." The picture indeed appeared promising. "The war 'boom' had at least doubled Newfoundland's national income . . . [and] at least on VJ Day, the short-term prospects seemed promising."

In spite of the brighter picture, however, Newfoundland's economy at the time of Confederation, was weak and narrow. It was still relying primarily on the salt cod, mining and paper industries. The world markets for paper and ore were unsteady and this resulted in sharp fluctuations in Newfoundland's economy. In addition, as Rowe (1976) indicates, the military bases had provided a boost, but fell far short of providing a solid base for long term economic prosperity.

At the time of Confederation, Newfoundlanders knew very little of social welfare services, and assistance for old people was absolutely minimal. Life for most Newfoundlanders outside of St. John's and a few other centres, had changed relatively little since the earliest settlers. This was especially true of the hundreds of outports that relied totally on fishing for their livelihood.

Commenting on the effects of Confederation for Newfoundlanders, the report of the People's Commission on Unemployment in Newfoundland states:

The great advantage of Confederation with Canada was the province's immediate participation in the Canadian social security system. At one stroke, as if by magic, the extreme hardships of poverty which had always been a threat, and during the 1930's

were a harsh reality for thousands of Newfoundlanders, were eradicated. (McGrath, 1978: 64)

Socio-economic factors and characteristics. Up to 1949 at least, the economy was based mainly on the inshore fishery. Its most obvious characteristic was the "credit system" which had ramifications in all spheres of outport life and society.

1) The credit system in the outport economy: Wadel (1969: 16-18) describes the operation of the credit system in outport Newfoundland in that each spring, the fisherman would approach his merchant to obtain an "outfit" (gear and supplies for fishing) on credit. During the summer, other fishing materials and also consumption goods would be added to this account. At the end of the season, the catch would be delivered to the merchant to be sorted, weighed and appraised, and all entries on the accounts deducted from the value of the fish. If a credit balance occurred, this was usually set on account against winter supplies. Little if any cash was involved.

The credit system, coupled with the individualism of the Newfoundland fisherman, the lack of any organization in the industry, and the insularity of most outports, left the fisherman at the complete mercy of the profit mechanism. The local merchant himself, however, was also caught up in the trap of the credit system, having to rely on the St. John's based fish-exporting firms for his inventory. This inventory (supplies) was advanced on credit until receipt of the cured fish from the merchant each fall.

Because of lack of organization among the fishermen, the credit system was a closed one, with the merchant holding both ends of the purse string--he decided the inventory and its cost to the fisherman, as well as the price the fisherman would receive for his produce.

2) The subsistence factor of the outport economy:

Subsistence⁵ or household production supplied the outport household with the major part of its consumption needs; this included a variety of vegetable, animal, forest and marine products. Most outport people provided much of their own clothing, built their own houses, boats, fish-stages and wharves. The winter's fuel was available in the "woods" for the cutting.

This extensive subsistence-production was made possible only by the co-operation of all members of the household, including children. As Wadel (1969: 9-14) notes, building, cutting timber and firewood, and hunting were the responsibility of the men, while the gardens and animal husbandry were the responsibility of the women and children.

3) The dualism in the outport economy: It would seem that since the early days of local industry, Newfoundland has had a dual economy: the industrial type economy of the larger centres, and the subsistence type economy of most outports that depend solely on the fishery.⁶

Having looked at the historical overview of rural Newfoundland, it seems realistic to consider that the economic-dualism found in Newfoundland was the result of a combination of

factors: the unusual circumstances of its early settlement, so conducive to isolation; individualism and lack of organization; and a unique merchant-dominated socio-economic structure. This combination has resulted in a situation which existed almost without change up to the time of Confederation.

Political Factors in Outport Evolution

Background. Many nations besides England were interested in Newfoundland for economic reasons. This was especially true of France. In the late Seventeenth Century, the French had a stronghold in Newfoundland with an established capital at Placentia. France relinquished claim to the island in 1713 but maintained fishing rights on the "French Shore" until the early part of this century.⁷

The political influence of the English merchants in the Newfoundland fishery led to legislation restricting permanent settlement on the island. Only the desperation of the first fugitive settlers, coupled with the lack of enforcement manpower and the almost inaccessible coastline enabled settlement to take place at all. At the time of Confederation, however, there were some 1300 communities with average populations of about 200 people, spread along the 6000 miles of coastline.

Newfoundland achieved representative government in 1832, but for many years little attention was paid to the scattered outport population. St. John's, the only city, was the centre of economic and political life although the ultimate power still rested in the hands of financial interests in England.

Coupled with the barriers of relative inaccessibility and lack of communications, most outports neither needed nor desired greater links to St. John's and the central government. Individually, the outports were too small to have a strong voice to government or to provide any community service for their residents. Most needs were met by individual or family effort, with necessary social services provided by the Church or the merchant.

If one considers the action of governing to include ruling and regulating with authority and conducting policy, then there really was no community government in most Newfoundland outports prior to 1949. However, in the limited sense of community discipline and ad hoc decision making, such government did exist. The structure varied, but common to all outports was the local roads board, whose only responsibility was the maintenance of local roads by means of central government per capita grants. Depending on the size of the outport, if there was no resident clergy, a leader or core of local leaders would usually emerge to make any necessary community decisions.

In outports with resident clergy, there was usually a difference in Catholic and non-Catholic communities. Since there was no tradition of democratic participation in the Catholic Church structure, the following describes the procedure followed in "Catholic" outports. The priest made the decisions and was recognized by the residents as the authority in all matters. Such was not usually the case in "non-Catholic" outports with a tradition of lay participation, although sometimes individual clergymen, by their ability and prominence, became the recognized voice and authority in the community.

Smallwood's reference to community government in outports in the 1930's remained valid, in many cases, until just a few years ago:

Brig Cove to this day has never had a municipal council or any other form of local government or authority to plan or even regulate its building or growth.

There is only one main street running around the cove separating the row of fishing stages on the landwash from the dwellings--the street is about twelve feet wide, stony and uneven on the surface. There are also many narrow "lanes" twisting crookedly between the houses. (Smallwood, 1937a: 6)

These comments by Smallwood could well have been written in 1949 or even 1959. My own experience in St. Brendan's (1959-64) and Melrose (1964-70) and my involvement in dozens of other outports, confirms the absence of any planning or regulatory authority. The positive functions of community government included: acting as spokesman to central government and all outside agencies; making the final decision on any problem or issue facing the community; acting as the final local authority in matters of control or discipline.

Political and government structure. Newfoundland's first formally structured local government was elected in St. John's in 1888, but it was almost fifty years before any other community took a similar step. A number of reasons had militated against the establishment of local governing bodies from the very beginning, among which were the repressive laws against permanent settlement; the restrictions on owning land and erecting permanent buildings; the isolation of the outports and the long hours and hard work of the fishery; the absence of cash in most outports; the low population density of most outports⁹; the dependence on the central government, the Churches and other agencies (for example, the company towns);

and the great fear that local government would mean a property tax.¹⁰

Rural Newfoundland saw no need and showed no interest in local government and was quite content to see many things being looked after from the central government at St. John's. From the start of the Twentieth Century, magistrates and Justices of the Peace were officially responsible for local affairs. In 1890, an Act passed by the legislature for The Administration of Local Affairs in the Outport District empowered the governor to appoint "local boards to look after local roads, bridges, sewers, drains, lighting, sanitation and the prevention of public nuisances" (Decks Awash, p. 11). These bodies were replaced in 1920 by a system of local roads boards. Both these early forms of local government received their total funding from the central government.

In 1933, The Local Government Act made provisions for the incorporation of communities, but the fear of the property tax dampened any enthusiasm to request it. In 1938, the government passed The Local Administration Act which permitted the creation by the governor, of municipalities, the establishment of councils, and the appointment of councillors for two year terms. Government also instituted a policy of subsidizing local councils on a sliding scale for taxes collected, and made available special grants for road building and maintenance. However, there was still no real interest shown by rural communities in assuming responsibility for local government. Consequently, the central government decided to create a special Act for each community seeking incorporation. This seemed to have quite an effect, with Windsor being the first town to take advantage of the Act in 1938.

The move to local government received a stimulus during the war years because there was then plenty of cash available in many communities, especially in those close to the military bases. These communities increased rapidly in population, and the need was soon felt for local government.

As Newfoundland entered Confederation, less than two percent of its communities enjoyed the services of local government. Rectifying this was one of the major tasks the new provincial government immediately undertook in its drive to modernize Newfoundland and "bring it into the Twentieth Century."

Religious Factors in Outport Evolution to 1949

During the first half of the Eighteenth Century, the need for "fishing servants" or crews for the English fishing fleet, coupled with intolerable political and economic conditions in Ireland, resulted in large numbers of Irish workers going out to Newfoundland.¹² In spite of laws against remaining after the fishing season, large numbers of these workers stayed behind each year. Memories of religious and political persecution in Ireland, coupled with repressive legislation against Catholicism in Newfoundland and their political status as fugitives, forced these people to seek out the most inaccessible inlets and coves in which they could settle unmolested.

With the passage of legislation allowing religious freedom to Catholics in 1782, there came the establishment of Catholic Church structure in Newfoundland. Dioceses were created and parishes formed such that the heavily Catholic areas of the island (the Southern Shore and central portion of the Avalon Peninsula, Placentia Bay, and much

of the southern portion of the Bonavista Peninsula) were soon provided with the services of parish priests. These parishes were extensive and included dozens of communities and hundreds of miles of coastline. The first priests were from Ireland, and were naturally looked to by the Irish Catholic population as protectors and leaders. It was a natural progression to the condition found in 1949 when the priest, for all practical purposes, was the centre of community life for the Catholic communities throughout the island.

Demographic Factors in Outport Evolution

Newfoundland's population increased from 6900 in the year 1750, to about 75,000 by 1832 when Newfoundland achieved representative government. As Hutchings (1967: 737-374) notes, by 1857, when Newfoundland achieved Responsible Government, the population had risen to over 124,000. Up to this point, the population had grown as a result of a steady stream of Irish and English immigrants, so that by the year 1800 the Irish outnumbered the English settlers.

The figures provided in Table 1 indicate that between 1921 and 1965, Newfoundland's birth rate was high and increasing in relation to the Canadian average. The death rate for the same period was high, but decreasing in comparison to the Canadian average.

TABLE 1
NEWFOUNDLAND LIVE BIRTH AND DEATH RATES
PER 1000 POPULATION

Period	Average live birth rate		Average death rate	
	Newfoundland	Canada	Newfoundland	Canada
1921-1925	26.7	27.4	14.0	11.3
1941-1945	29.8	23.7	11.8	9.7
1961-1965	31.5	24.2	6.6	7.7
1971-1975	22.5	15.9	6.1	7.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 84-204, 1975-76; 84-206, 1976.

The figures from 1965 to 1975 indicate a relatively high but decreasing birth rate, and a death rate among the lowest in Canada. For the first time (between 1952 and 1956), as Table 2 indicates, there was a small but positive rate of immigration. After 1956, however, the migration was again heavy, although current figures indicate a steadily decreasing trend in recent years.

TABLE 2
NEWFOUNDLAND: AVERAGE YEARLY NET MIGRATION, AND
RATE OF MIGRATION PER 1,000 POPULATION, 1946-1976

Census Period	Total Net-Migration*	Average yearly Net Migration	Rate of Yearly Net Migration per 1000 Population**
1946-1951	-15,017	-2,503	-7.3
1952-1956	+35	+7	0.0
1957-1961	-17,389	-3,478	-8.2
1962-1966	-22,722	-4,544	-9.5
1967-1971	-19,832	-3,966	-7.5
1972-1976	-1,771	-354	-0.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 91-208, Estimated Population of Canada by Province, 1978. Percentages calculated by the author.

*Minus figures indicate out-migration. The figures indicate how many more people left the province than entered it.

** Rates of net-migration were calculated on the average population during the census period.

The above data indicate that the major cause of the province's increase in population has been a high rate of natural increase. For example, as Warren (1967a: 13) notes, the rate of increase for 1965 was 23.1 per thousand compared to a national average of 13.8 per thousand.

Another demographic feature of Newfoundland which has undergone much change since 1949 is the proportion of rural to urban population.¹³

If we examine the figures in Table 3 regarding rural and urban population ratios, we see that during the period 1951 to 1971, the rural population decreased from 57.2% of the total to 42.8% of the total. In the twenty year period from 1951 to 1971 the ratios

reversed themselves.

TABLE 3

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND PERCENTAGES

RURAL AND URBAN FOR CENSUS YEARS 1951 TO 1976

Census year	Total population	Rural	%	Urban	%
1951	361,416	206,621	57.2	154,795	42.8
1961	457,853	225,833	49.3	232,020	50.7
1971	522,104	223,304	42.8	298,800	57.2
1976	557,725	229,455	41.1	328,270	58.9

Source: For 1951 to 1971, compiled from Canada Year Book and Statistics Canada as in Matthews, 1976: Table 3.
For 1976, from Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 92-807,
Population: Geographic Distribution.

The diminished rural population reflects the migration from Newfoundland to the eastern United States and Canada during the 1930's and 1940's, and the heavy efflux from rural communities due to centralization programs initiated after Confederation. However, the figures for the 1960's, in particular, could be misleading as Otter Brox (1972) points out. They don't just mean that the outporters moved to St. John's and the several other urban centres, although this indeed had been a factor in the urban increase. The figures also reflect the fact that many people had moved from small outports to larger outports which forced the latter into the urban bracket of 1,000 or more in population. Matthews (1978-79: 92) reports that just after the Second World War there were about 1300 settlements in

Newfoundland, by 1961 there were 1,104, and by 1971 this number had dropped to 878. This trend is reflected in the data in Tables 3 and 4.

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF COMMUNITIES IN NEWFOUNDLAND
BY POPULATION OF COMMUNITY,
CENSUS YEARS 1961, 1971

Population of community	1961	1971
0-49	238	113
50-99	174	113
100-199	263	193
200-299	140	123
300-399	83	83
400-499	69	44
500-599	83	126
1,000-4,999	47	71
5,000-9,999	5	8
10,000-and over	2	2

Source: Matthews, 1976: Table 4.

Socio-cultural Factors in Outport Evolution

In his Book of Newfoundland, J. R. Smallwood offers a comprehensive picture of the cultural elements of the population. He points out that the population is divided according to certain territorial areas.

Although . . . along the northern coast the population does contain some of Irish descent, the people are overwhelmingly of English origin . . . especially true of that section running from Baccalieu Island northward to the strait of Belle Isle, and around the cape southward to Bay of Islands. From Bay of Islands to Port-aux-Basques, a very large proportion of the population is of Irish extraction, . . . although Newfoundland's

French population also dwell there. From Port-aux-Basques eastward to the Burin Peninsula, the population is overwhelmingly English. Placentia Bay is almost exclusively Irish, and from there round Cape Race to St. John's, including St. Mary's Bay, Trepassey Bay and the entire Southern Shore, the Irish predominate.

St. John's is half Irish descent, and Conception Bay has a very large proportion of Irish, especially in the central part. (Smallwood, 1937a: 4)

Although Smallwood wrote his first volume of the Book of Newfoundland in 1937, his account of outport life at that time remained true for most rural Newfoundland communities up to the time of Confederation. The possible exceptions would be those communities that had been affected by the boom of the four United States military bases, the industrial and mining areas, and Gander.

Continuing his description of outport life, Smallwood comments:

In externals alone, so the old timers tell us, has there been any change in the life of the people in the past fifty or sixty years. In internal aspects, the people are about the same as they were a hundred, two hundred years ago. Certain relatively unimportant structural changes in the economic fibre have occurred in the course of time. Essentially, however, in spite of these external changes, the methods of gaining a livelihood, and therefore the inner life of the people and its everyday expressions, are little changed from what they were long before the oldest inhabitant of the country was born. (Smallwood, 1937a: 4)

In an effort to present a more vivid and realistic picture of a typical outport of the 1930's, Smallwood describes his imaginary Brig Cove, an outport with a population of 1,000, with 200 houses, and located in a small cove. He provides a detailed description of the houses and layout of the community, and speaks of the isolation and social life.

Most Brig Coves are isolated during the winter months since most depend on coastal steamers. With the drift ice after New Years, connection to St. John's is overland by dog team with

weekly mail. The land line telegraph and telephone is available and in most outports there is a radio set or two--owned by the merchant or clergyman. Entertainment is simple--times, ¹⁴sprees, dances, concerts and plays during the winter, plus 45's or auction in private homes. Each summer there is a garden-party. (Smallwood, 1937a: 8)

Although Smallwood seemed to develop a less than romantic view of outport life within the next few years, he summarizes his portrayal of outport society in these words:

It is an altogether simple, unpretentious sort of life that is lived by the great majority of outport people of Newfoundland. Always excepting the real struggle to wrest a livelihood from the elements, life is leisurely and serene, without the hot passions and artificialities of city life and alleged civilization. (Smallwood, 1937a: 12)

Another picture of outport life as it was forty or fifty years ago is provided by Myra Bennett.¹⁵

Of course there was poverty! And where was there not poverty during a world depression? But here [Daniel's Harbour, on the northwest coast] every family owns its own home, and since they built it themselves they don't have to pay rent. When starvation was rife in other countries, the inhabitants here lived well with homegrown vegetables, their own cows to provide milk, cream and butter. Every family had a good supply of meat, either home raised or hunted. Moose, caribou, rabbits, all helped the food supply.

Most families had salted and dried fish enough to last through from season to season In my practice, I had never seen a case of ricketts caused by malnutrition. Cod liver oil was always available. In fact I considered my little outport a land of milk and honey. Education was the only thing lacking. (Green, 1974: 79-80)

For a descriptive picture of the housing in a Newfoundland outport prior to Confederation, I will again refer to J. R. Smallwood and his description of the houses in Brig Cove:

The houses are built very close to the shore, built of wood, usually of two storeys; mostly with flat roofs covered with felt and tar. They are painted, as a rule, yellow or brown, although an occasional one is pure white. No effort whatsoever

has been made to lay out the settlement to take the shape or appearance of a town. The houses do not all of them face the same way; they are not built in rows, but face whatever point on the compass pleased their builders.

Each dwelling is contained in a small fenced garden, and each family also has some gardens or "hay fields" "in back"--perhaps half a mile inside from the coast. Most families have a few hens, sheep, goats, a cow or a pony. (Smallwood, 1937a: 4-12)

Some Newfoundland communities had electricity by 1949, but this was more the exception than the rule. Although most houses were built by the owners, and lacked modern conveniences and appliances, they were usually debt-free.

In a report of a commission of enquiry into the cost of housing in Newfoundland, L. W. Kostaszek (1969a: 18) provides a somewhat limited view of outport housing as it was in 1961. Although the information provided in Table 5 reflects the 1961 scene, the situation was not much different at the time of Confederation. In 1961, most outports still had no local government or community services, and, as we shall note later, the major change in rural housing did not begin until the late 1960's.

TABLE 5
 QUALITY OF HOUSING--1961
 (percent of Dwellings)

Item	Newfoundland			Canada
	Urban	Rural	Total	
In need of Major Repair	5.5	5.3	5.4	5.6
Without Running Water	17.7	58.8	38.0	10.9
Without Flush Toilet	33.8	80.9	57.1	21.0
Without Furnace	58.7	93.4	75.8	32.6
Overcrowded (1)	30.4	29.4	29.8	16.7
Median Value	\$6,721	\$3,000	\$4,311	\$11,021

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census Reports.

Note(1): Number of persons in household exceeds the number of rooms.

This table was compiled from selected statistics provided by Kostaszek on page 18 of the Report.

The picture of traditional outport society presented by Smallwood and Bennett was verified almost in detail in conversations and interviews I had in January, 1979 with several well known Newfoundland writers and personalities.¹⁶ These people had lived or worked in outports prior to Confederation and three of them have written extensively about their impressions and experiences. The picture presented also provides memories reminiscent of my own boyhood days in Harbour Main and Charles Cove during the 1940's, and later in my work as a priest at St. Brendan's.

Social Factors in Outport Evolution

This is a brief look at the roles and interactions of such actors on the rural scene as the clergy, the merchant, the teacher and others. As well, it examines some of the social forces and circumstances that formed the background of outport life prior to Confederation and, in many instances, long afterwards.

Social forces in outport society. Some of the more prominent features in outport activity are now isolated and very briefly described.

1) Total dependence on the inshore fishery: This was a factor common to most outports except those that were close enough to the population centres or the military bases to allow for a change in occupation.¹⁷

Total dependence on any one industry is risky under any circumstances, and the history of the Newfoundland inshore fishery is replete with instances when the fish "didn't come ashore," when the overseas markets failed, or when the unpredictable North Atlantic weather played havoc with gear and equipment. The real problem, however, with the inshore fishery seemed to be the total lack of organization of the industry, which left the fisherman dependent on antiquated techniques and practices, and often on the good graces of the local merchant.

2) Lack of organization: Lack of organization was, to some degree, both a cause and an effect of the reliance on the Church, the merchant and central government.

The role of the Church was paramount in most Newfoundland communities up to the mid-1960's. To see why this was especially true of the Catholic Church in Catholic communities, it is necessary to recall some of the historical data presented earlier:

- The religious, social, political and economic oppression which provided the backdrop to the settlement of the first Catholic migrants to Newfoundland.
- The very dispersal of the Catholic population in the hundreds of small harbours and coves around the coast gave them at most, a very weak and fragmented voice when a government was eventually formed.¹⁸
- The absence of roads and any real means of communication until well into the Twentieth Century further increased isolation and dependence.
- The absence of doctors and police required the Church to provide medical and police services. This further increased the dependency relationship between the people and the priest.¹⁹
- The autocratic nature of the Catholic Church, which had no tradition of lay leadership or participation, further strengthened ties of dependency to the local Church.
- The virtual blind faith of the original Irish settlers was fortified by generations of English oppression in which the Church was usually seen as the only possible hope and protector.
- The only visible tie that the first Catholic settlers had

with their former lives was their religion and Church.

They held steadfastly to this faith even though, for many years, most isolated outports never saw a priest or a church.

The nature of the fishery fostered community dependence on the priest. In outports reliant on the Labrador fishery, there were few, if any, men in the community from early spring to late fall. Any men involved with the local inshore fishery were on the "fishing grounds" or in the "fish stages" every day during that period except on Sundays. Consequently, in the male-dominated society of the time, the concerns and problems of the community were usually placed in the hands of the local priest.

From the earliest days of government in Newfoundland, it seems that the priest was recognized by the government as spokesman for his rural parish community. This is evident in the writings of D. W. Prowse (1895: Supplement 26-31) in speaking of the work of Dean Cleary of Witless Bay and Monsignor Sears of the Codroy Valley, and their many effective involvements with the government on behalf of their parishes. Such was the case even in the 1950's as can be seen in the way in which the government dealt with the Churches on the centralization issue. Even though the Churches had no input into the centralization policy decision, Smallwood realized that if they were opposed to it, the policy would be difficult, if not impossible, to implement. Consequently, he announced, "No actual move will be made until careful consideration has been held with the leading religious and social authorities of the province."

(Daily News, October 30, 1957, p. 4).

Another example of this recognition of the role of the priest in a Catholic community is seen in the way Smallwood dealt with Rev. L. Woodrow in one instance of community relocation. As detailed in the Evening Telegram (December 15, 1961: p. 4), Smallwood publicly recognized Woodrow as the spokesman for the relocating communities of Wood's Island and Inesmara as they resettled on the western mainland of the province.

I have many more pertinent examples of this recognition in my own experience with the government while parish priest at St. Brendan's.²⁰ During this time I approached the government, without much success, with many requests on behalf of the communities. All the other islands had relocated over the previous ten years or so, but St. Brendan's was the last Bonavista Bay "holdout" against resettlement. Consequently, any inducement to remain would fly in the face of government policy. Twice annually, the Department of Health would ship a supply of drugs and medical supplies to be used and dispensed at my discretion. This again points out that, even in recent years, government accorded a broad power base to priests in Catholic outposts.

Further indication of the broad role of the priest is seen in the politicians' and government officials' practice of first visiting the priest when entering his parish. If the priest opposed a politician, usually the latter would find little, if any, political support from the parishioners. Being on good terms with the priest, however, usually gave a politician great political

advantage.²¹

3) Negative attitude towards education: Although much criticism has been levelled, in recent years, at the "poor" educational system found in Newfoundland prior to Confederation, much of this criticism has been ill-directed. It was not so much the quality of education received in many communities, but rather the common attitude towards the value of education that was at fault. While many teachers lacked the academic qualifications for their positions, most compensated for this by their effort and dedication. However, the fact that many parents considered that a knowledge of reading and writing was all that was required for fishing, meant that most boys by age 14 were taken out of, or allowed to leave school, to take their place in the trap-skiff or schooner.

Prior to 1940, young people could see no visible future, other than the fishery or construction work in the United States. The common attitude towards higher education therefore, is understandable, especially in view of the value of an extra family "hand" in a crew, and also considering the vast practical knowledge a boy had to gain through experience before he accepted the responsibilities of manhood and a family.

4) Lack of mobility in most outports: Since Newfoundland really had no comprehensive road system prior to the 1950's, and travel was limited to coastal boat or schooner, there was little inter-outport travel except with trade centres, and in case of necessity.

In most outports there was an isolationism or insularity which helped provide a distinctive character to each community. It is easy to see such a pattern for island outports, but it was also common, even to Conception Bay communities that were separated by only a headland or a mile or two of land.²² Without roads, in most cases, you might as well have been a "hundred miles away as you were one."

5) Lack of communication: Since newspapers, radio and telephones were relatively recently introduced to outport life, lack of communication added to the isolation and lack of mobility.

The radio was probably the biggest single factor in changing communication patterns, since for the first time, it allowed everyone in the community to learn directly what was happening in the rest of Newfoundland and the world. Up to this time, outport communication and "spreading of news" was mainly by way of post office bulletin boards and visiting schooners. Since not everyone could read, and not too many had time or opportunity to visit the incoming boats and schooners, information was not directly available to all. Radios were initially a luxury reserved for a few, such as the merchant and clergy, and so most people in the community were dependent upon the merchant, priest, teacher, or other local leader, passing on the news directly, or by allowing their residence to become a regular evening public gathering place to hear the news. The medium of radio was utilized quite early as an education tool by the use of "school broadcasts" and even into the age of television, it served many outports as the only regular

link with the outside world.

There were many other social forces at play in outport Newfoundland before 1949, such as a lack of political awareness, a spirit of individualism, and an attitude of possessiveness. All of these, according to Matthews (1976: 25, 37), were rooted, to some degree, in the living conditions and background experiences of the families and communities concerned.

It is easy to assess, from a theoretical point of view, rural life in any setting as good or bad depending on your particular bias or perspective. Thus, as Barnard (1973: 92-93) points out, Ferdinand Tonnies' paradigm for describing communities left the rural community (*gemeinschaft*) looking quite good relative to the urban. The rural is seen in a good light and assumes "a warm and loving aura." It assumes unity of wills, mutual affirmation, and desire to aid and protect. The overriding impression was of "*gemeinschaft*" as, "... a warm, loving, harmonious, emotionally rich, organic wholeness suffused with a tender glow." Barnard however, proceeds to explain how this idyllic image does not exist in practice, and that there is ample evidence, in rural communities, of suspicion, mistrust, competitiveness, lack of social solidarity and hostility.

I believe, however, that neither author intends to be exclusive. From my own experience and observation, it is quite obvious that, just as all the above mentioned qualities and failings exist in individuals, so also they are to be found in most communities whether rural or urban. Indeed, also, from my own experience, I would suggest that in the outport communities of Newfoundland, one can routinely experience

the paradox of absolute warmth and hospitality side by side with hostility, suspicion and jealousy.

Social actors in outport society prior to 1949. Although there was little organization and lay leadership evident, especially in Catholic outports, there were, however, a number of distinct actors in most rural communities. Against the backdrop of the social forces and circumstances previously noted, these actors interplayed to provide the particular and distinctive scenario that is termed "traditional outport life."

1) Merchants as actors: Perhaps the most obvious and involved actor in the outports was the merchant. As an entrepreneur in the traditional outport economy, he carried out the functions of collecting and/or processing local fish produce for export, and of distributing within the community, goods produced outside. In the absence of small specialized competition (cash stores), the outport merchant exercised a monopoly since he had a control over the fisherman's consumption and to some degree, his year's earnings.²³ Szwed (1966: 41-49) observes that, while before the 1930's, the local merchants controlled "all parts of the distributive system . . . including pricing, quantity and medium of exchange," even so, relations between merchants and farmer-fishermen were personal, enduring and non-competitive. In the 1930's, continues Szwed, the merchants, acting as mediators, ". . . offered a modicum of economic security, but also provided other critical functions not available to local peoples."

The following is an appraisal made by J. R. Smallwood of the typical outport merchant of the 1930's, and it shows some discordance with the above appraisal made by current sociologists as regards the relationship involved.

The cornerstone of the whole economic structure of Brig Cove is the merchant. Fishermen each spring go to the merchant to be "supplied." Even if they have some cash they will not spend it on anything so precarious as outfitting for the fishery. These supplies are gotten "on credit" or "on account" This . . . coupled with the system of culling, and the lack of awareness by the fisherman of the intricacies of economics and foreign affairs, leave the fisherman and merchant on very opposing grounds.²⁴ (Smallwood, 1937a: 8)

Cato Wadel (1969: 20-21) treats extensively the relationship between the merchant and his client-fisherman. Like Iverson and Matthews, he sees it as a trusting personal relationship, characterized by the personal contact between the two individuals. He concurs with Szwed (1966: 153) in referring to the merchant's role as advisor (regarding wills, deeds, travel, government regulations, education, etc.), and confidant to the fishermen, and as a patron, especially in relation to government and politicians. He describes the relationship between the two as "one of patronage or paternalism, the fisherman being the merchant's client." This would appear then to be a kind of *gemeinschaft*, personalized relationship that involved considerations other than the purely economic. Knowing the familial circumstances and personal background of his clients or customers, the local merchant could not easily limit his considerations to the economic, but often had to weigh factors such as sickness in the family, or loss of gear through storm or fire.

As patrons, the merchants assumed many functions that are today the responsibility of government; most important was the provision of a basic security to all the outport citizens. This was achieved through the recognized governmental technique of redistribution, in which the merchant absorbed the entire productive effort of the community, then "levelled" and distributed it back to the community.²⁵

Wadel (1969: 22) sees the outport mercantile system as "mutually beneficial to the fishermen and the merchants" so that it bound the two together in a patron-client relationship without generating self-destructive forces. Along with the extra-commercial functions referred to above, the merchant provided working and investment capital for the fisherman in a rather risky enterprise--risky because of the market fluctuation and the many vagaries of the fishing industry itself. The merchant also marketed the produce and arranged for the provision of the necessary consumer goods: functions normally outside the fisherman's competence. There was little organization in the industry, and few fishermen had the capital or skills to engage in the complex world of marketing and finance; those who did, became merchants.

2) Teachers as actors: The first English school in Newfoundland was established at Bonavista in 1772 under the auspices of the Anglican Church.²⁶ Most of the first teachers were well qualified and had been trained in England before being brought to Newfoundland as missionary teachers. The numbers were small and the benefits available to relatively few

children. In 1782 the Catholic faith was officially recognized, and in 1833 religious orders were brought from Ireland, and formed the main core of the teaching staff in Catholic schools for over a century. Most outports received only an indirect benefit of convent schools as the graduates moved to other outport communities to teach.

Teachers have played a dominant role in outport life, and it is only in recent years with the consolidation of school boards, combined with the generally higher level of education and sophistication in rural communities, that one can see much change in the role and influence of the teacher in outports.²⁷

Prior to consolidation, schools were relatively small and to be found in every community. In most cases they were parish-built and largely parish-subsidized,²⁸ with the school boards, (nine formed in 1836 corresponding to the nine electoral districts) usually Church controlled and the clergyman as chairman. This was especially true in the Roman Catholic Church, and even up to the mid-1960's, many of the eighty Catholic school boards were purely nominal, with all power and authority residing with the priest.²⁹

The fact that the priest had total power in local education had many consequences on the role played by teachers. Once selected or hired by the priest, the teacher immediately had a status and influence over and above that resulting from the purely academic role of teaching, and even shared in the authority of the priest--at least vicariously. This was especially true in the mission areas of parishes where the priest visited the community

and schools only occasionally.³⁰

While non-Catholic communities usually had lay-readers who performed many religious functions in the parish, in Catholic communities the teacher had to assume multiple roles in the community and parish as well as in the school. These roles often involved conducting emergency burial services, co-ordinating most religious and social services in the community, and even acting as janitor and caretaker on school and Church property. In most small outports there was usually only a one or two-room school, and usually the senior teacher was in command.

While the position of teacher in itself provided status and power, this power and authority was often augmented by the teacher's personality. In many instances the teacher also carried out the functions of policeman, Justice of the Peace, advisor and confidante, as well as a substitute for the priest in many Church and liturgical functions. In most cases, the teacher was a trusted and respected member of the community: a local leader. His or her decisions on school matters would not be questioned except, perhaps, by the priest in serious circumstances.

3) Clergy as actors: In outport Newfoundland prior to Confederation, the clergyman was central to the daily life of the community. Although there is no work treating exclusively of this role of the clergy, most historians and sociologists who have written about Newfoundland include references to it.

Since the concern in this thesis is primarily with the role of the Catholic clergy, I supplement the various written sources

with data gathered during interviews with people who were very much involved with the Catholic Church in rural Newfoundland before Confederation, and who are generally recognized as very knowledgeable on the subject. I also draw on my own knowledge, both as a resident of a rural parish prior to Confederation, and especially from my experience as a Catholic priest in probably the most isolated parish in Newfoundland during the years from 1959 to 1964.

In the writings of D. W. Prowse (1895), there is a brief account of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland up to the end of the Nineteenth Century. He speaks mainly of the activities of the Catholic bishops and their influence and concern in both Church and community matters. He also documents the involvement and influence of priests in the parish and broad community.

Paul O'Neill (1976: 723-742), discussing the Catholic Church in the last century, deals mainly with the effort of the first Bishop of St. John's to gain recognition and tolerance for Catholics. He points out that these early years were certainly a time when the Catholic Church hierarchy was embroiled in political and social matters, and exhibited a very public image.

In his book, I Chose Canada, J. R. Smallwood (1973: 309) clearly brings out the fact that in the Confederation issue, the Catholic bishops, priests and the Catholic media (The Monitor) were by no means passive.³¹

A brief but accurate description of the role of the clergy in outport Newfoundland is found in Smallwood's Book of Newfoundland. In referring to the fictitious Brig Cove, he treats

the religious activity of the community.

The inhabitants are hard-working and religious. There is a little church usually built freely by the men of the community. Church and religion there is taken quite seriously. The people are most devout and sober-minded and ardent church goers. The clergyman is respected and trusted and enjoys a very high standing. In a word, in no part of the world does the Church, of whatever denomination it may be, play so large a part in the communal life of the people as it does in Brig Cove. (Smallwood, 1937a: 11)

From a series of interviews in which I asked the question, "What was the role of the priest in rural communities before Confederation?", I obtained the views of a number of writers and local historians. In essence, the picture I received was the same each time, and a carbon copy of my own memories and experiences. In answering the question, J. R. Smallwood commented as follows:

In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. In rural Newfoundland communities the priest was king. He had the vision, the education, which he had received in Rome or Dublin. Even though he didn't have full vision, or know all the answers, he was expected to know all--this was demanded of him. In fact, some of the first priests, during the early 1800's were not all that well educated. But still they were leaders. Certainly in Catholic outposts before Confederation, the priest was the man who held the power. He made the decisions, and few would dare oppose him on his own ground. It wasn't just power in spiritual matters. It extended to all areas of rural life.

Paul O'Neill, responding to the same question, stated:

Around the time of Confederation, the Church--that is, the priest, in Catholic communities, carried out most public or community functions and responsibilities. Not only was he looked upon as the spiritual leader, but he was also expected to be--and this was almost demanded of him by his office, the leader in all mundane matters as well.

The priest carried out the functions of policeman, banker, political broker, doctor. He was also the provider of educational services, of community entertainment, and of whatever semblance

there was of local government. This situation existed, particularly in Catholic rural parishes, not only because of the structure of the Catholic Church, but also because of the circumstances and conditions surrounding the establishment of the various isolated groups of Catholic parishes all along the coast.

Both Maurice Burke and Michael McCarthy have lived under the "old system;" and were very much a part of it (See Footnote 16). Their experiences and recollections were much the same in that as far as "parish and spiritual matters went, the priest made the decisions." McCarthy, echoing the words of Burke, commented:

There was no real input from the parishioners prior to any decision. Sometimes there were meetings of the Holy Name Society or the Altar Society, but these were not decision-making bodies. Oftentimes the priest would advise the people through these organizations of what he was going to do. But rarely, if ever, did anyone publicly dispute or question such an announcement. What the priest did was right. Even if he did wrong, it wasn't considered as wrong. He had to be right.

However, both McCarthy and Burke agreed that "While the position of parish priest provided the basic power base, the total influence varied with the strength or weakness of the individual priest." Both recounted in detail instances of priests who, although respected as very holy men, were less than practical in ordinary living situations, while others because of some special talent or expertise, exercised a very broad positive influence in the entire region.

Both men pointed out the difference to be found in the priest's role and influence in the sphere of parish activities in a "mixed" (more than one religion) community as contrasted with

an all-Catholic community. In mixed communities, because of the example of the English or Scottish element with their tradition of lay leadership and involvement in Church matters, the Catholic parishioners were more likely to have developed some type of Church organization parallel to the Lodge or Vestry in which the priest had minimal control. Examples given were the Star of the Sea Societies in the parishes of Fogo and Holyrood. These societies had been organized by the fishermen themselves with objectives and concerns that did not always coincide with those of the parish and pastor. In a totally Catholic community, such as Tilting Harbour or St. Brendan's, the priest was "the be all and the end all."

From his own experience as a teacher, and having been the priest's right-hand man, Mike McCarthy pointed out that the priest's greatest influence was in the community in which he lived. This was the parish centre where the main church and the school buildings were located. He continued:

Usually one would find better social conditions and a better moral tone as well. Since the priest was a permanent resident there, he provided constant leadership and this resulted in a better community spirit. Thus, the influence of the priest in the missions was certainly lesser in temporal affairs. These communities generally tended to lack leadership because of the priest's absence, and the tradition of no lay initiative.³²

With respect to the hesitancy of many older people in accepting involvement and responsibility in Church matters, several priests presently working in Grand Falls Diocese commented:

It seems that the older people consider that administration is part of the role of the ordained priest. They feel almost

guilty about having actually participated in making decisions, as if they had wrongly assumed a role reserved to an ordained minister. It's a mentality that won't easily be changed. (Deanery meeting, Grand Falls, January, 1979.)

4) Other local actors: In most rural communities there was also some leadership provided by the Justice of the Peace and the local roads board chairman. In many cases one person carried out both these functions. Such persons were usually people of proven ability and experience who had been recommended by the priest and/or merchant for such a position, and the position usually resulted from their influence rather than vice versa.

As well as these civic leaders, there were usually leaders in the parish, for example, the President of the Altar Society or Ladies' Auxiliary, and the President of the men's Holy Name Society. In most cases, the latter organization, apart from its spiritual purpose, provided a means of information flow between the priest and parish.⁶ The Altar Society also had a spiritual objective, but its main effectiveness usually lay in its fund-raising efforts to support the parish.

In most outports there was no resident doctor or government official. The regional welfare officer and doctor would make "regular" visits but, depending on the community, these varied from once a week to several times a year. As a result of this lack of contact and involvement, the influence of these professionals on the community was minimal.³³

SUMMARY

From the time of its discovery in 1497, Newfoundland was a dominated and dependent society. The same economic, political and religious factors which initiated the peculiar demographic pattern of small isolated coastal communities, remained as determinants of Newfoundland society up to the time of Confederation.

From the beginning, the economy of Newfoundland was controlled by the merchants of Western England. Their control was both direct, and, later, indirect through firms based in St. John's. This situation lasted until at least the time of Confederation. Within Newfoundland itself, this pattern of domination and dependence was everywhere replicated. St. John's depended on England; the outport communities and merchants relied on the business houses in St. John's; and the people in the outport communities relied almost totally on the merchants.

Newfoundland has also had a long history of political dependency, from the early days of the Fishing Admirals,³⁴ to government by Commission as it was from 1934 to 1949. Politically, the outports relied on the central government to be responsible for many routine local community issues. The local MHA was a medium for receiving favors from the central government. He was as much a patron as he was a representative of his constituents' viewpoints in government. Within the community there was an almost total political dependence on the priest in dealings with the outside, especially in Catholic outports with no history of local lay leadership.

Certain characteristics predominated in outport society prior to Confederation. There was an almost total dependence on the inshore salt fishery. Community government in any structured, official form was non-existent, and there was universal reliance on the central government or the local Church. There was a general negative attitude towards education beyond the basic skills. The almost total lack of intercommunication between outports was due partly to historical reasons, but also because few roads existed. This exaggerated the isolationism that had been prompted by historical, economic, political, religious and geographical factors.

In outport society certain roles predominated. Chief among these were the roles of the merchant and the clergy. Usually, in small outports of one religious persuasion, the merchant and clergy acted in concert, but not always. The merchant had great influence and authority because, due to the credit system and an unorganized fishing industry, "he owned part of everyone." The clergyman also, due to a strong faith and the basic need for someone to trust and follow, owned "a part of everyone's mind and heart," and this provided much influence and authority.

Other prominent actors on the local scene were: the chairman of the local roads board, the Justice of the Peace, the resident policeman, nurse, teacher, and any residents prominent because of ability or reputation. Outside actors with impact on the local scene were the MHA's or local government members, the doctor and the welfare officer.

FOOTNOTES

¹Thomas indicates that, at this time, "There was a work force of about 65,000 [and] of these, 41,231 were engaged in fishing activities" (1967: 542).

²Coaker started to organize in 1908, and in six years the Fisherman's Protective Union (FPU) had over 200 branches and 20,000 members. Price falls after World War I, coupled with strong opposition from the politically powerful St. John's business interests eventually stifled the movement. Coaker died in 1938, ". . . a bitter and disillusioned man." (Wadel, 1969: 24)

³In 1932, 5 million of the 7.5 million revenue was used to meet the interest on the national debt. (Rowe, 1976: 8)

⁴U.S. military bases at Stephenville, Argentia, Fort Pepperrell and Goose Bay, and a Canadian base at Torbay.

⁵Production without intervening acts of exchange among production units, as opposed to production for exchange.

⁶Since Confederation, the rural economy itself has become dual in character, mainly because of the influx of transfer payments, welfare, baby bonus, old age pensions and U.I.C. benefits.

⁷In 1696 and 1697, French forces based at Placentia attacked and burned most of the communities on the east coast including St. John's. The French Shore extended from Cape John, White Bay, up the northeast coast and down the west coast.

⁸Modelled on the British parliamentary system with an elected lower house, an appointed upper house and an appointed governor. (Rowe, 1976: 7)

⁹As late as 1945, the average population of Newfoundland communities was 250 people.

¹⁰This fear had first been used in the anti-Confederate campaign of 1867 when, "The Anti-Confederates predicted a future in which property owners, having no money to pay local taxes, would see their hard-earned homes and fishing premises fall under the auctioneer's hammer as the result of tax arrears" (Decks Awash, St. John's, September, 1977, Vol 6, No. 6: 10-14).

¹¹With each new community entitled to a special Act, they could set their own tax structure and thus avoid the feared property tax which had been such an obstacle to local government all along.

¹²By 1763, the Irish made up more than one half of the fixed population of the island. (Rowe, 1964: 16)

¹³The Dominion Bureau of Statistics defines an urban community as one with a population of 1,000 or over, whether incorporated or not.

¹⁴Times and sprees--outport colloquialism for any community social or entertainment. Auction and 45's are card games played with from two to eight players.

¹⁵Bennett is an English nurse who came to Newfoundland's north-west coast over fifty years ago. She provided the only immediate medical help available to most residents of that coast for most of that time.

¹⁶Maurice Burke, since 1972, has been a contributor to "The Monitor" (the Church monthly paper with province-wide distribution) on the subject of outport life and the role of the Church. Michael McCarthy, an historian and playwright, was for many years, a teacher in some of the most isolated communities in Newfoundland (1948-59), and afterwards served as a supervising inspector and a school board superintendent. Paul O'Neill is the author of two recent books on Newfoundland.

¹⁷Apart from Grand Falls and Corner Brook with their paper mills, the other centres, such as Clarenville, Lewisporte and Marystown were mainly service centres supplying the local needs of the surrounding region. Physical proximity to these centres and to the military bases was not the only factor, however, in reducing dependency on the fishery. While outports such as Port de Grave stuck steadfastly to the fishery, nearby communities such as Bay Roberts and Brigus made almost a complete turn away from it.

¹⁸Also, the parish could include as many as 20 outports, and this population base provided the priest with a strong voice when dealing with government or politicians. Having the priest as spokesman gave much greater voice than any one person could have from the individual communities.

¹⁹Up until the early 1960's in St. Brendan's for example, the priest's word in the medical area was definitive. A doctor's diagnosis and verdict was accepted by most only after the priest had "verified" it.

²⁰On being sent to St. Brendan's I was advised by my bishop that the parish was to close. I was to be the last priest sent there. In my subsequent dealings with Premier Smallwood (also our MHA) as spokesman for the island, I was told, "When these people move up here (Glovertown South) you can request for them whatever they want, and I will do my best to see they get it."

²¹ I personally experienced this in my years at St. Brendan's, and also to some extent, in the following five years in Bonavista. This was verified in my conversation with J. R. Smallwood on January 5, 1979, and in the interviews held in the five communities.

²² Even today it is possible to detect distinct patterns of speech among older residents of many communities in Conception Bay that are within one or two miles of each other. Also, many of the older residents of outports like Bonavista and St. Brendan's, up to the late 1950's, had never been outside their home community.

²³ Cash stores did not exist thirty years ago in most outports because a man's earnings were on the merchant's books and not in cash. In most outports, for example, parishioners would sometimes go to the merchant each fall to get their "dues money" to "pay the Church"-- usually \$5 to \$10.

When the Fisherman's Protective Union opened its retail stores during the 1920's however, this, initially at least, allowed some fishermen (those in the Union) to deal in cash. No Catholic outports had an FPU retail outlet because of the Church's stand against Coaker and the movement, and few Catholic fishermen became members.

²⁴ Culling was a process whereby the dried fish was graded according to quality. Each fisherman usually culled his fish before taking it to the merchant. However, the merchant's own culler made the grading which determined the price the fisherman would receive.

²⁵ Levelling mechanisms included, "the lowering of prices, the talqual system and credit relations" (Wadel, 1969: 19). The "talqual system" was a system of pricing whereby an average price was agreed on by all merchants for fish regardless of quality. (Szwed, 1966: 41-49)

²⁶ When the French established their capital at Placentia in the late Seventeenth Century (1662-1715) they brought over teachers as well as the Recollect priests who set up a parish there. There are, however, no records available to substantiate this.

²⁷ Consolidation of school boards began in 1962, and by 1969 there were just 35 boards where there had been over 300.

²⁸ Although schools were mainly parish financed, salaries of teachers were paid by the government (after 1836) except for members of religious orders. Fees could also be assessed on parents to augment the salaries.

²⁹ From 1959 to 1964 I was Chairman of a school board on which two of the appointed five members had been dead for several years. In the five years I called four nominal meetings, and made all decisions

on my own.

30 This was the situation as described by Michael McCarthy during his days as a teacher in the outports of Cape St. George, St. Brendan's, Fogo, St. Mary's and Long Harbour during the late 1940's, and early 1950's. Similar experience was related by Catherine Pennell of Trepassey. This was also my personal experience with teachers who were my "right hand men" (or women) during the 1960's in places like Burnt Island, Melrose, Summerville and Sweet Bay.

31 Bishops Roche and O'Neil opposed Confederation strongly, but not all clergy followed suit. Mr. Smallwood delighted in relating the incident of Fr. Will Collins who, at one of the early pro-Confederation rallies, was among the first to come forward and put in his \$5 donation in spite of his bishop's public stand against Confederation.

32 My own experience corroborates the observations of these correspondents. In St. Brendan's I made all decisions for the parish with little, if any, input from the parishioners. Since I also had the responsibilities of providing disciplinary and medical services, most community decisions came under my domain.

When I moved to Bonavista, however, it was quite different. I still had the "final say" in parish matters (although there was more "questioning and criticism"), but any influence in civic matters came about only after I had "proven myself" as being interested and involved in the entire community.

33 In some cases, as with Conche and Daniel's Harbour, the resident nurse played a major role in community affairs. In St. Brendan's up to the mid-1960's, the visiting doctor's advice meant little unless corroborated by the priest.

34 Government by the Fishing Admirals was instituted by the Star Chamber Rules which were drawn up in 1633 for the control of the Newfoundland fisheries. Under these Rules, the commander of the first English ship to enter port in the spring became the "admiral" of the port or harbour during that fishing season.

Chapter IV

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a general background on the Catholic Church. Because the focus is change, emphasis is placed on the most significant contemporary element of change in the Church--the Second Vatican Council.

First, a brief look is taken at the Church's structure, function and social orientation prior to the Council. Next, I look at the effects of the Council by examining its social aims and the results. Thirdly, I look at the post-Conciliar Church, examining various levels of operation from the perspective of social change. This examination includes an indication of the general atmosphere within the Church relative to social change; a view of the social policies and activities of the Canadian Catholic Church; and a detailed look at the Catholic Church in one segment of Newfoundland, specifically the Diocese of Grand Falls. This latter section also examines the structure and relation of that Diocese to the rest of the Canadian Church, and the Diocese's application of the principles of social change as presented by the Second Vatican Council.

THE CHURCH PRIOR TO THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

The reasons usually forwarded for Pope John XXIII calling together the world's Catholic bishops for the Second Vatican Council

provide a telling picture of the Church prior to the Council. Stuber and Nelson (1967) comment that Pope John wanted to update the Roman Catholic Church in order to prepare the way for Christian unity, and that he wanted to make the Church understandable and relevant for people of the Twentieth Century. The Church had lost pace with the rest of society and was in need of an updating or "aggiornamento."

In almost every facet of Church life the same accusation could have been made. On the level of theology, the Church, for many years seemed to have ~~lost~~ touch with the practical realities of daily life. Scientific and technological advances were placed in opposition to the ingrained dimension of faith. The Church and its theologians seemed either unwilling or incapable of meeting head-on many confusing issues which posed everyday dilemmas for many people.

Church structures were, in many cases, anachronistic relics of another era. Advances in communication and transportation, part of the scientific revolution of the past century, were almost ignored by the Church which apparently saw little need to adjust or adapt.

The growing secularization of which Harvey Cox (1967) speaks in The Secular City, seemed to be a mushrooming cloud about to totally envelop and asphyxiate an unwary Church.

The major concerns of the Church, both internally and with respect to its role in society, can be seen from the agenda which the Second Vatican Council eventually followed. For example, a special study was given to the role of the laity as part of the Church, thereby pointing out one of the more obvious failings in Church life prior to the Council. While democracy and participation had become an accepted

part of everyday life for many people, there was little evidence of this new freedom in the Church and its religious activities. New interpretations regarding the liturgy and the sacraments resulted in a very changed theology in these areas.

As with its theology, the Church was also forced to look at the issue of its structure. Science and technology were helping people to question many apparently outmoded beliefs, rituals and practices. So too, the taste of responsibility and participation shared in many recently initiated secular organizations, was encouraging more and more Church members to want to think for themselves and to have some voice in the religious decisions of their lives.

Although there had not been any universal discontent among priests and bishops regarding their role and ministry, the existence of shortcomings and failings is evident from the substantial documents of the Council dealing with this area.

The fact that the pre-Vatican Church was generally out of step with contemporary society, resulted in perhaps the most well known of the Council documents--The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.

RELEVANT CONTENT OF THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

Just as World War II and Confederation were starting points for the social revolution in rural Newfoundland, so also, the Second Vatican Council¹ provided the impetus and the means for tremendous and comprehensive change in the Catholic Church. Although the changes introduced had effect on almost every aspect of Church activity, the focus here is

especially in the areas of lay participation and social concern.

Aims of the Council

The opening message of the Second Vatican Council, issued by Pope John, clearly states the Council's purpose:

In this assembly, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, we wish to inquire how we ought to renew ourselves, so that we may be found increasingly faithful to the gospel of Christ. We shall take pains so to present to the men of this age God's truth in its integrity and purity that they may understand it and gladly assent to it. (Abbott, 1966: 3-4)

As is obvious from this opening message, Pope John XXIII wanted everything possible done to help the Christian message reach all people.

The Council Documents

Some have referred to the Second Vatican Council as the most important religious event of the century. Certainly this is true for the Catholic Church itself, regardless of the levels of decision implementation and policy adoption. In the four years of the Council, sixteen documents were produced treating a wide variety of topics. Abbott (1966: XVII) notes that, "Taken as a whole, the documents are especially noteworthy for their concern with the poor, their insistence on the unity of the human family . . . for their repeated emphasis on the Christian's duty to help build a just and peaceful world"

The social message of the Council is based on the social encyclicals of the previous Popes.² Pope Leo XIII in 1891 proclaimed the Church's social doctrine in treating the condition of labour in the world and stressed the need for social justice. In 1931, Pope Pius XI

again treats, in his letter Quadragesimo Anno, the reconstruction of the social order and re-emphasizes the dignity of man and of labour. Just prior to the Second Vatican Council, Pope John XXIII issued his encyclical Mater et Magistra which deals with social progress and human dignity, and urges that attention be given to the Church's social teachings, especially in the training of the clergy.

The relevant document of the Second Vatican Council dealing with social concern is The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. In this document, the Church places itself consciously "at the service of the family of man."³ Among the central themes of this document are: the dignity of man (Articles 14-16), the excellence of freedom (Article 17), the need of a social consciousness (Article 30), and the need for all men to participate in, and be responsible for, the shaping of their own lives and destinies (Article 31).

Perhaps the real mandate for Church involvement in any issue concerning people is to be found in Article 43 of this document. In this article one reads:

Therefore, let there be no false opposition between professional and social activities on the one part, and religious life on the other Because the human race today is joining more and more in civic, economic and social unity, it is that much more necessary that priests, united in concern and effort under the leadership of the bishops and the Supreme Pontiff, wipe out every ground of division, so that the whole human race may be brought into the unity of the family of God. (Abbott, 1966: 243)

This passage gives the encouragement and impetus for involvement in social and political causes. It appears to say that this involvement should be through the Church lay members, thereby leaving the clergy to do the strictly religious work. This, however, would

appear to be a contradiction of the spirit of the document which sees the Church opening its doors and going out to deal with the modern world in its own venue.

In the area of lay participation and involvement in the Church, the relevant Council document is The Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity. Having affirmed (Article 1) that the laity constitute the "people of God" and so the visible Church, the document continues, "The layman's apostolate derives from his Christian vocation and the Church can never be without it." In Chapter 1, it is pointed out that the Church was founded for the purpose of spreading the Kingdom of God throughout the entire world and that all Christians have a sacred obligation to participate in this task. This ministry of the laity is twofold in character as described in Article 2: "They exercise a genuine apostolate in fact by their activity directed on behalf of bringing the gospel and holiness to men, and on behalf of penetrating and perfecting the temporal spheres of things through the spirit of the gospel."

In Chapter 2, Article 5, the dual mission of the Church is stressed "not only to bring to men the message and grace of Christ, but also to penetrate and perfect the temporal sphere with the spirit of the gospel." This latter objective of perfecting the modern world is a "special obligation" of the laity. In this regard, Article 8 places emphasis on the practice of the virtues of Christian charity and social justice through participation in social welfare at all levels.

In Chapter 5, Article 26 of this document is found the

rationale and basis for the formation of parish and diocesan councils: to "assist the apostolic work of the Church either in the field of making the gospel known and men holy, or in the charitable, social or other spheres. To this end, clergy and religious should appropriately co-operate with the laity." Continuing further in this article, the Council states: "Councils of this type should be established as far as possible also on the parochial, inter-parochial and inter-diocesan level as well as in the national and international sphere."

Apart from the social message of the Council, other content relevant to this study is found in the documents on the Liturgy and the Priesthood. The content of these documents opened the way to many accidental but prominent changes in the liturgy and customs of the Church. Among these changes were the use of the vernacular language replacing Latin, greater freedom to experiment with new rites and procedures, and various minor adaptations relating to clerical life style and physical aspects of sacramental and ritual administration.

Conclusion Regarding the Second Vatican Council

The document, The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, clearly provides the Church with a new direction in relation to modern man. Whereas, according to Stuber and Nelson (1967: 80), "A hundred years earlier, under Pius XI [the Church] feared and fought the world and its culture [she] now faces it with confidence and benovelence." The authors continue that another very important trend and direction provided by this document was in the area of ecumenical activity with other Churches. The message given by the document seems

"less monopolistic, less condescending, than that of Pope Paul's encyclical letter Ecclesiam Suam [August 6, 1964] which seemed more ready to teach than to learn."

THE CHURCH AFTER THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

This section deals first with the general atmosphere within the Church after the Second Vatican Council, then attempts to see some of its effects within the context of the Canadian Church and particularly the Church in Newfoundland.

The General Atmosphere

In 1965, as the Second Vatican Council was drawing to a close, Harvey Cox (1967) wrote his well known book, The Secular City, which was to spark so much controversy and discussion over the ensuing several years. This book deals with man's "coming of age," of his "turning his attention away from worlds beyond and toward this world and this time." The following quote by Cox (1967) serves to illustrate that the thinking of the Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council, and the thinking of such serious non-Catholic writers as Cox, was along the same basic lines:

If secularization designates the content of man's coming of age, urbanization describes the context in which it is occurring. It is the "shape" of the new society which supports its peculiar cultural style. (Cox, 1967: 4)

It was in recognition of the fact of secularization that the Council Fathers spent much of the four years of deliberation in attempting to help the Church become more relevant to changing society. In his encyclical Mater et Magistra of May 15, 1961, Pope John XXIII

recognizes, as have previous Popes, the role of the Church in the secular issues of modern living. In speaking out on such mundane issues as roads, housing and communication, he provides the example for all local churches throughout the world.

Two years after the Second Vatican Council, the eminent theologian E. Schillebeeckx attempted an appraisal of the effects of the Second Vatican Council on the Church. He stressed the pastoral nature of the Council, as opposed to the purely dogmatic. What Schillebeeckx (1967: 7) saw was the "tendency to give preference to the historical truth, without however straining the theoretical or speculative truth." He saw many positive gains from the Council despite the uncertain preconciliar expectations. Among these results were: a quickened flow in Catholic life; a dynamic movement penetrating deep down into the ranks of Church leaders; a general awareness of existence in a world that is changing, and abandoning the sacral for the human; and a conviction of the need to bridge the gap between the secular world and religion.

The Canadian Church after the Second Vatican Council

It is generally acknowledged that, among the national Catholic Churches over the past fifteen years, the Canadian Church has been among the forerunners in attempting to help its members meet the challenges of a secularized society. One of the Church organizations that has contributed to this position is the Conference of Canadian Catholic Bishops (CCCCB). It has been a powerful voice on issues of universal concern, and in matters of peculiar interest to the Canadian

Church.⁴ Statements issued by the CCCB over the past several years attest to this fact.

In a 1971 release relating to the "crisis in the priesthood," the bishops stress that they see this crisis as being the result of a multiplicity of factors, and not just because of the excessive influence of the human sciences. As the Working Paper⁵ for the Third World Synod of Bishops (1971) points out, they see the necessity to appreciate the unity of the ministerial functions of the priest (gathering the people, proclaiming the Word, and celebrating the sacraments). However, they urged the Synod to distinguish between the situation of the priest who gets involved in profane work and milieu in carrying out his mission, and that of the priest who, besides exercising his ministerial role, takes a profane job for reasons of financial need. This modification was prompted by an awareness of the many complex situations in which the Canadian Church finds itself operating.

For the past decade or so, the Canadian Catholic Bishops have issued statements putting forth the view of the Canadian Church on current social issues. The various subcommittees of the CCCB utilize the abilities of experts, lay and cleric, in delving into some of the complex issues which confront man in modern society. Of particular relevance to this study are the activities of the Committees on Social Action and on Human Rights. For example, on December 12, 1977, the CCCB issued a release from the latter committee, condemning the actions of two international nickel companies (Inco and Falconbridge) in laying off 4,000 workers in the northern Ontario area. They claimed that these workers were victimized by market forces and the exaggera-

ted profit margin of the companies. They called for "bold and imaginative initiatives" on the part of all concerned, and for a "solidarity" of all Christian communities with these workers in determining short and long term solutions to these and other such problems.

In the past, the Catholic Church in Canada has often been conspicuous by its silence regarding crucial issues facing our society. In recent years, however, with stands like the above, and its stand on native land claims, it appears that the Catholic Church in Canada is at least attempting to live up to some of the broader dimensions of its mission. In 1974, the CCCB commissioned a nation-wide study to determine the views and feelings of the "grassroots" regarding the Church and its effectiveness in today's society.⁶ The results of this study formed the basis of many of the policies and actions of the CCCB during the past several years.

On December 1, 1977, the CCCB issued a statement about world social structure (A Society To Be Transformed) challenging the present structures of capitalism and Marxism. In this statement, the bishops describe these ideologies as contradicting Gospel values and failing to adequately meet human needs. They call for a twofold involvement of Christians in the presence of changing society: firstly by transforming our way of living and our social and economic structure; and secondly by identifying and promoting the solutions that come only through renewed values, attitudes and relationships.

In an attempt to provide more practical application of the principles of social justice in Atlantic Canada, the Catholic Bishops of the Atlantic Provinces recently issued a statement on regional

disparity entitled, To Establish a Kingdom of Justice (June, 1979).

In this statement the Bishops treat the nature, causes and effects of the dependency on external forces shared by the Atlantic Provinces. The statement outlines the Christian approach needed in the transformation of our society, and points out the role of the Church in promoting a liberating vision of human life. It stresses involvement, participation and authentic freedom as means of reaching a more just social order. The statement also outlines steps recommended for the parish and diocesan level aimed at promoting social justice and human dignity.

While I consider this statement to be an excellent one, I am disheartened by the realization that in some dioceses and parishes these steps cannot readily be taken because there is no mechanism on the parish or diocesan level allowing broad participation, involvement and input. The Church cannot effectively promote authentic participation in the secular, political and economic spheres as long as such participation is absent in its own activities and structure.

In an interview with Bishop Remi DeRoo of Victoria, B.C., I came to realize more fully, the difference between the role of the Church today on social issues, and its role in the past.⁷ Today, at the level of the CCCB, there is positive and strong effort to establish a policy of the Church speaking out as a Church. Bishop DeRoo illustrated this by referring to instances where individual bishops, in earlier days, had spoken out for the rights of native peoples, but they had done so as individuals. It was not the voice of the Church, and it did not change the relationship of the priests in their parishes

to their native parishioners. In recent years, however, through the CCCB, the Catholic Church in Canada has taken strong official stands on different social issues, the most notable being that of the rights of our native people.⁸

Bishop DeRoo stressed the need for pioneer work in the Church today: the need to adapt and to reach out to more and more areas, groups and individuals that have, to some degree or other, been denied an opportunity to really take their place in the Church or in society.

The Newfoundland Church After the Second Vatican Council

Although most of what follows is valid for the three dioceses on the island of Newfoundland, my knowledge and experience is most intimately related to the Diocese of Grand Falls.⁹ It is to this diocese that the subsequent material refers.

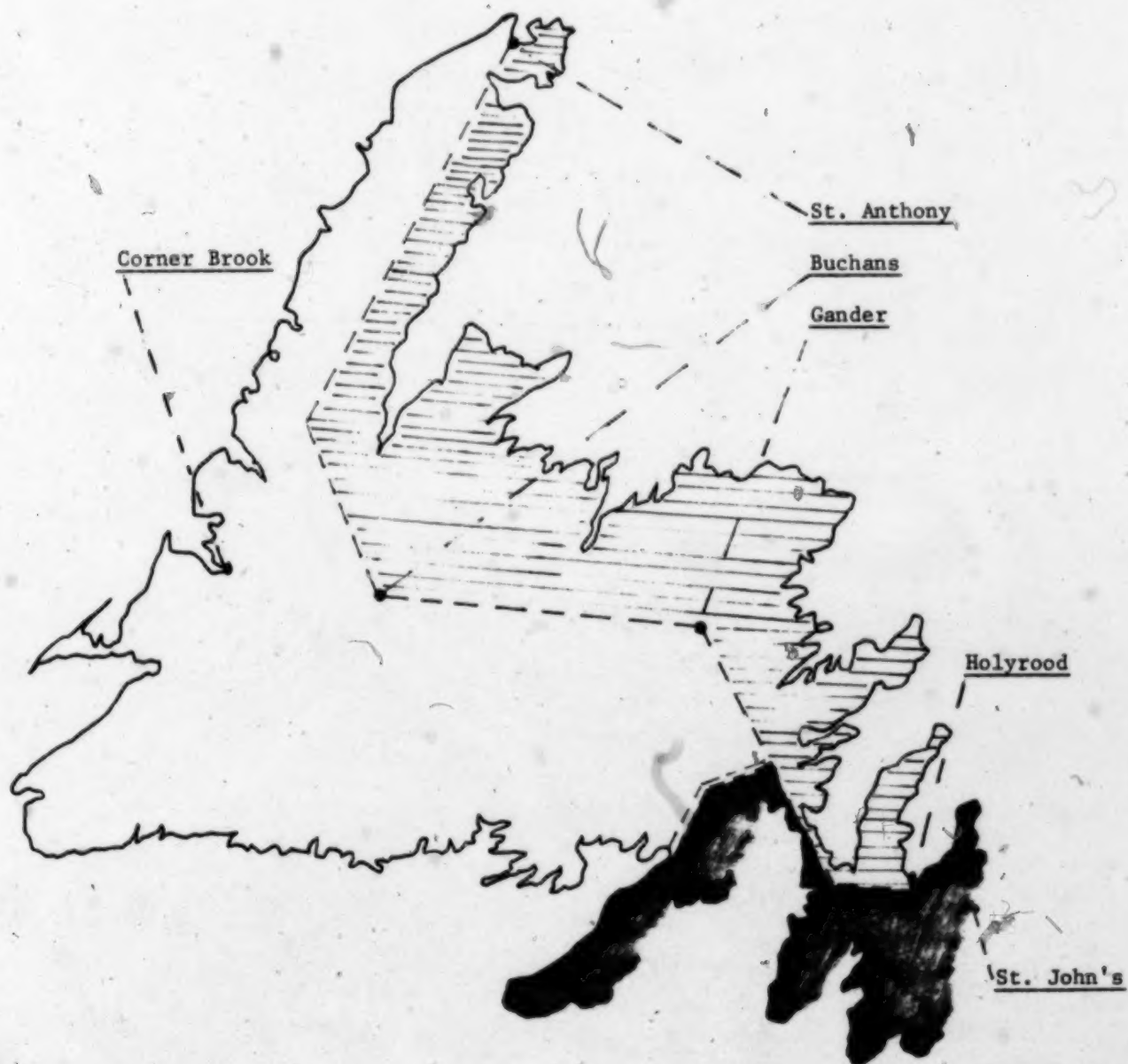
The structure. This involves a brief look at the internal structure of the diocese, inter-diocesan organization, and various structures on the regional and national level to which the diocese is affiliated.

The Diocese of Grand Falls comprises about 35 parishes. Its boundaries, drawn up before the Newfoundland highway system was developed, extend along most of the east and north-east coast (See Figure 2, p. 96). The ultimate authority in the Diocese is the Bishop, but two diocesan Boards--the Board of Administration and the Board of Consultors, act in an advisory capacity to the Bishop. The Senate of Priests, which is a partly elected, partly appointed body, also functions in an advisory capacity. On a regional level within the

FIGURE 2

MAP OF CATHOLIC DIOCESES IN INSULAR NEWFOUNDLAND

Shaded Area: Grand Falls Diocese
Clear Area: Corner Brook Diocese
Dark Area: St. John's Diocese



Diocese, there are three deaneries each comprising approximately the clergy of ten parishes. These bodies are mainly study and information forums which provide input to the Senate, and also assist in implementing diocesan programs.

Within the province, the only Church structure of an inter-diocesan nature, apart from the Catholic Denominational Education Committee (CEC), is a formal meeting held twice yearly between representatives of the four dioceses.¹⁰

On the regional and national levels, there are several affiliated structures which have developed partly as a consequence of the Second Vatican Council. The National Federation of Senates of Priests (NFSP) was established in the late 1960's to represent the senates of each Canadian diocese on the national level, and to co-ordinate senate efforts, especially in relation to the CCCB. The NFSP is a formal, structured organization, and an official part of the structure of the Canadian Church. The Atlantic Conference of Priests was also established in the late 1960's, but ceased to exist in 1975.¹¹ It was an informal, unstructured organization consisting of any priests who, as individuals, were interested or concerned about issues of interest to them and to their ministry.¹²

The principles of the Second Vatican Council applied. A particular focus of this study relates to the role of the Catholic Church in social change in outport Newfoundland. Related to this role and change are the principles of social justice and lay participation which were so emphasized by the Second Vatican Council. In the Diocese of Grand Falls generally, as in most dioceses throughout

the world after the Council, there was much discussion and preaching about these principles. However, it seems that, for this Diocese at least, much of the discussion did not generally lead to activity of a very pragmatic nature.

To the extent that there was some degree of implementation of these principles, a brief examination is made of the procedures involved, especially in relation to the changes experienced in the five communities of the study.

Implementation of social justice: Although centralization¹³ proved to be a serious issue of social concern, no official stand was taken by the Newfoundland or diocesan hierarchy. However, there were several instances where individual priests promoted the move and co-operated actively with the government effort.¹⁴

The only example of a strong stand against the government policy involved a conviction that the rights of the people were being ignored. The parish and community in question was St. Brendan's. The parish priest at the time, Bill Shallow, sensing the feelings and wishes of the people, took a stand and stated, that if the people wanted to stay, he would do everything possible to make sure they could.¹⁵

Shallow's conviction was not initially shared by the Bishop or the official Church structure since officially, Church policy regarding resettlement of St. Brendan's was to phase out the parish as soon as conveniently possible.¹⁶ Unfortunately, this policy was not formulated on the basis of the expressed needs or wishes of the people of St. Brendan's, but was the result of a unilateral decision by the Bishop, prompted by the government policy and the resettlement of

nearby communities.¹⁷ In spite of a strong government criticism and a less than enthusiastic reaction from Church authorities, Shallow pursued his intention and refused to accept either the government or Church policies. The result is that today, in spite of a decreasing population (from 816 in 1961, to 529 in 1979), St. Brendan's is a relatively modern community with a positive, optimistic outlook for the future.

On another matter relating to social justice, the official Church structure did take some action. This was the area of salaries and pensions for Church employees. The question of priest's salaries was raised by the deaneries, and recommendations went from the Senate to the Bishop, who made the decision that each priest would receive a guaranteed basic salary allowing him to meet normal living expenses.¹⁸

Of equal, if not greater importance, was the matter of lay employee salaries. In the past, there were many instances where the parish house-keeper or parish "man" had been paid only token wages.¹⁹ The main cry of concern here came from some of the priests who wanted a realistic and standard salary scale throughout the Diocese for all lay employees. Even up to the present time, however, there is still no standard. Some lay employees receive relatively realistic wages, while others, in different parishes, do not fare as well.

Of concern to many priests and lay people in Grand Falls Diocese during the late 1960's and early 1970's, was the matter of pension plans for clergy and lay employees. Until recent years (1960's), priests in the Diocese usually did not retire, but remained in their parishes until they died. Should a priest become disabled or chroni-

cally ill, he would probably be cared for at the St. Patrick's Old People's Home in St. John's, operated by the Sisters of Mercy. Although some priests managed to save a fair sum of money from the dues system during their tenure as pastors, not all priests were financially worry-free. In any case, it was felt by many priests that common sense and justice demanded some kind of pension provision which could allow a priest or lay employee to retire if so desired, or to live in financial independence whatever the circumstances.

The pension issue was raised by the Senate in 1971, but it took almost seven years before the recommendation was implemented to include both cleric and lay employees.

Yet another area of social justice in which the rural Newfoundland Church was involved during recent years, was the area of wages and working conditions in some of Newfoundland's industries. Perhaps the best known example is that of D. McGrath's efforts to form a union for workers in the fishing industry. Within the confines of Grand Falls Diocese, there are many cases of stands and actions taken by individual priests on social issues affecting their parishioners. Examples include the stand taken by J. Beresford of King's Cove in the early 1970's regarding employment and relocation (Evening Telegram, September 23, 1971: 4); the stand of E. Brophy in Bonavista concerning fishermen and their rights in 1971; the activity of J. Murphy on the Northern Peninsula during the early 1970's; the stand of W. Shallow regarding the rights of the people of St. Brendan's during the late 1960's; and my own stands taken in the Buchans' strikes of 1971 and 1972.

As an institution, the Church itself, in many instances, was caught up as both the subject and object of dependency. A good example of this is to be seen in the history of the Catholic parish of Bonavista, where a reliance on a local business for financial support coloured much of the Church's activity and influence for many years.²⁰ In view of such financial dependence, one could hardly expect the priest in Bonavista to have ever taken any public stand against the policies or practices of the business in question if ever warranted. To some degree, this kind of dependency existed in most Catholic outport parishes; the merchant was always Catholic, and usually there was a close tie with the priest.

Implementing the principles of lay participation: Since the Second Vatican Council, the formation of priest's senates, the revitalization of deaneries and the institution of inter-diocesan meetings with elected clergy participation, all indicate a growing involvement by the priests in extra-parochial matters. This involvement was initiated by the hierarchy, and in many cases, the attitude of some of the priests was apathetic and reactionary. To some degree such reaction was understandable, because, for many, the various proposed innovations in structure and function loomed as a threat to the security of the status quo, especially as regards greater democratic participation by parishioners. Under the old system prior to the Second Vatican Council, the priest was protected by the traditionally accepted autocratic procedures in effect in all parishes. There was no fear of recrimination, challenge or even evaluation because he was the ultimate authority in his parish in religious matters, and often

exercised authority in many secular areas. The only parish structures were those under his direction and authority, and the only diocesan authority to whom he was responsible was the Bishop. No comprehensive educational program explaining changes in Church structure or function resulting from the Council was provided to either clergy or laity.

Coincident with the attempts to update the Church, was the reorganization of the educational system in Newfoundland. This reorganization called for election of parish members to school boards to replace the virtual one-man operation of the clergy which had existed up to that time. In this connection, I was very much involved in the organization and administration of both the Association of Roman Catholic School Boards and the Federation of School Boards of Newfoundland and Labrador, the latter being the spokesman to government and other organizations for all school boards in the province. I served on the Federation of School Boards of Newfoundland and Labrador as Vice-President (1971-74) and President (1974-77), and also represented Newfoundland on the national executive of the Canadian School Trustees Association (1974-77).

The transition to democratic procedures in school board operation, though technically achieved with relative ease, in essence has not been fully successful. This statement is made in view of the fact that the accusation is still expressed in some quarters, that priests dominate the decision-making process on a number of boards.

Thus, even though the Church hierarchy sanctioned and encouraged the democratization of educational administration, there seem to be instances where the desired result has not been achieved.

I would attribute this mainly to a lack of sufficient prior knowledge and education regarding the issue and process on the part of both clergy and lay people. Since, however, the educational advantage and opportunity was definitely within the hands of the clergy, I see the main responsibility for any failings being theirs.²¹

Perhaps the most radical attempt to implement the principle of participation and involvement in Church activities was the establishment of parish councils. As a result of Article 26 of The Document on the Laity (Flannery, 1975: 791), most bishops attempted to establish parish and pastoral councils in their dioceses soon after the Second Vatican Council ended.²²

The success and effectiveness of these attempts is difficult to assess, and varies greatly from one diocese to another. In many instances, parish councils have been formed but little change in authority or responsibility has taken place. In such parishes, the parish priest still makes the decisions with the parish council functioning as a sub-committee to carry out his decisions. This is not universal, however, and there are many examples of total participation and co-operation with the parishioners being an essential part of the decision-making process.²³

In the parishes of Grand Falls Diocese, this venture into democratization has proven less than impressive. Of the more than thirty parishes, no more than six have functioning councils by 1979. The first council was established in 1969 at St. Brendan's on the initiative of the local priest. In the ensuing ten years, little progress has been made in reaching the desire and intention of the

Bishop to have councils established in every parish. If criticism is to be levelled, it would have to include both the parish and diocesan elements. Many priests who have grown up and functioned efficiently and effectively under the old autocratic system, find it very difficult to "hand over the reins of authority." On the other hand, very little has been done on the diocesan level to encourage the establishment of councils other than the offering of verbal encouragement to priests and parishioners.²⁴

SUMMARY

The age of science and technology has, during the course of many years, had dramatic impact on society in general, and Western society in particular. It was not until the late 1950's, however, that the Catholic Church made any official attempt to equip itself with policies and principles designed to help it function effectively in the changed society of a modern world. This attempt was initiated by Pope John XXIII in his convoking of the Second Vatican Council.

The purpose of the Council was to update the Catholic Church so as to enable it to more effectively carry out its mission of making the Christian message relevant and meaningful for mankind in the Twentieth Century.

While in fact, the Second Vatican Council did provide principles and directions capable of better enabling the Church to carry out its mission, no effective mechanism was provided to ensure their application at the practical level of the local parish. Much of the problem seems to lie in the fact that while principles and structures have

changed to suit today's needs, there is no way to ensure a parallel transformation in the attitudes and convictions of those who provide much of the Church contact with the world--the individual priest.

As a result of the Council, there was dynamic movement within the Church affecting all segments of Church society--leaders and followers alike. There was, also, a general awareness that the Church must adapt to be relevant in a fast-changing world in which it is no longer central, and a conviction of the need to bridge the gap between the secular world and religion.

Among the national Catholic Churches since the Second Vatican Council, the Canadian Church has been a leader in attempting to help its members meet the challenges of modernization and secularization. The Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops has become, during the past ten years, the voice and conscience of Canadian Catholics, both to the universal Church, and to Canadian society in matters sacral and mundane.

In the Diocese of Grand Falls, implementation of the Second Vatican Council principles of social justice and participation has been hindered by obstacles on the structural as well as the personal level. These include ineffective methods of policy implementation and the inability or unwillingness of some individual priests to make the necessary adjustments in thinking and ministry. The participatory structures of parish and pastoral councils have not been accepted by most clergy. Thus, lay members of the Church are often forced to accept outmoded procedures and practices in Church activity, although fully accustomed to participation and democracy in their mundane and

secular activities.

FOOTNOTES

¹On January 25, 1959, Pope John announced his intention to convoke the Twenty-First Ecumenical Council of the Catholic Church, the first since the First Vatican Council of 1869-1870. It opened on October 11, 1962 and ended December 8, 1965. Sixteen documents were produced with a total of over 100,000 words. The text of each document is divided into numbered sequential sections or articles.

²Rerum Novarum of Leo XIII, 1891; Quadragesimo Anno of Pius XI, 1931; and Mater et Magistra of John XXIII, 1961.

³This was the most lengthy document of the Council--over 23,000 words. It is this theme of service to mankind that Harvey Cox proclaims in The Secular City.

⁴The Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops was organized in 1943. It is a formally structured body whose members are all the Catholic bishops of Canada. It has a central office located in Ottawa, with a heavy complement of professional lay and clergy staff. It is a working organization with various committees responsible for specific areas of concern. This body is the official spokesman for the Catholic Church in Canada, although it does not exercise administrative authority over the various dioceses.

⁵From A Resume of the CCC Reply to the 1971 (October) Roman Synod of Bishops Working-Paper on the Ministerial Priesthood, Ottawa: August 30, 1971. This reply was drafted with input from the priests throughout Canada through the agency of the National Federation of of Senates of Priests of which I was at the time a director.

⁶The study entitled Project Feedback was an attempt to determine the "attitudes at the Canadian grassroots" on some of the major contemporary social issues. It was undertaken by Grant Maxwell, a writer and then staff-member of the CCCB Social Affairs Department in Ottawa. I was involved in this study in co-ordinating the "feedback mechanism" in Newfoundland, and in reviewing the first drafts of the five reports which comprised the study.

⁷Bishop DeRoo is Chairman of the Social Action Committee of the CCCB. He has long been considered a leading figure in the Catholic Church in Canada, especially in the area of social justice, but also (because of his words and actions) in the area of "relevant ministries" for today's world. He is well aware of the paternalistic attitude of the Church in the past, and of its many effects.

⁸The Church stand on native people's rights as explained by Bishop DeRoo, is that "Native people have the basic right in a democratic society to state their case, to be heard." Bishop DeRoo

represented the Catholic Church in "symbolic silence" at the Dene Declaration made on Parliament Hill in 1976.

⁹The three dioceses are St. John's, Grand Falls, and Corner Brook. The fourth diocese, Schaefferville, includes the Labrador portion of the province of Newfoundland. Due to my involvement for several years as a delegate to the inter-diocesan meetings, and because of regular travel to the other dioceses (as a result of educational and other involvements), I was in a position to have a comprehensive picture of the Church throughout the province.

¹⁰The CEC was established in 1968 as a result of the re-organization of the Department of Education. This Committee, comprised of the four bishops, their appointees and elected school board delegates, is the spokesman for the Catholic Church in educational matters. I served as a member of this organization for three years.

¹¹My knowledge of the CCCB, NFSP and the Atlantic Conference, is based on personal involvement for several years with these organizations as a founding member of both the NFSP and the Atlantic Conference, and as Vice-President of the former and President of the latter.

¹²Although this Conference (and as well the Central and Western) had no official Church status, it seemed to have the potential to offer a meaningful perspective on the activities of the Canadian Church. Initially the Conferences were considered to be expressive of the more radical or liberal viewpoint, but within four or five years they seemed to settle into a conservative and safe pattern of thinking, reflective of the National Federation of Senates. Having no specific *raison d'être* over the past several years, the three Conferences of Priests have ceased to function.

¹³Centralization was the policy of relocating economically unviable outports to areas of growth or potential. This policy was initiated by the provincial government in 1953. Between 1953 and 1975, 258 outports were relocated. (Statistics, Federal Provincial Resettlement Program, St. John's, 1975: Summary 4).

¹⁴For example, Luke Woodrow in the move from Woods Island and Phil Lewis in the resettlement of Merasheen Island.

¹⁵Bill Shallow succeeded me in the parish of St. Brendan's in 1964.

¹⁶When appointed to the parish of St. Brendan's in November, 1959, I was directed by the Bishop to co-operate with the government policy of resettlement. I was to undertake no major expense or renovation since I was to be the last priest to go to St. Brendan's.

¹⁷ Bishop J. M. O'Neill was a close personal friend of J. R. Smallwood, the chief proponent of centralization. Smallwood, at that time, was Premier and the MLA for St. Brendan's. The Bishop's decision was also based on the recommendation of the previous parish priest, my predecessor. St. Brendan's (Cottles Island) was one of more than a dozen inhabited islands in Bonavista Bay. During the 1950's, most of the other islands (for example, Flat Island, Bragg's Island, Silver Fox and Burnt Island) had all been vacated in favour of nearby mainland communities (Eastport, Glovertown, Gambo and others).

¹⁸ Salaries had never been an issue because there was rarely more than one priest in a parish, and his support was provided by means of the "dues" system. This was the traditional practice of offering a day's work or wages each year for the support of the priest. By the 1950's, this had translated to \$12 per year from each working person, and was an established regulation in the diocese. The "dues" system was abolished in the 1960's, and priests were given a salary of \$60 per month. This salary was augmented by the daily mass offerings (from \$2 to \$4), and in some parishes by a special Lady Day or Christmas collection. By 1970, this monthly salary increased to \$100, and by 1979 to \$400.

¹⁹ Most parishes, however small, had a full-time housekeeper, and at least a part-time male employee who functioned as handyman, bell-ringer and jack-of-all trades in the parish. Some of these had worked in the parish for most of their lives, and their services, in many instances, were not remunerated to the same degree as other employees in the community. A housekeeper in 1964 received about \$60 per month net.

²⁰ The Catholic parishioners have always been a very small minority of the Bonavista population (less than 3% in 1970), such that a parish structure could not be supported by Bonavista parishioners alone. However, in the late 1800's, the local Catholic merchant (James Ryan) donated a large tract of prime land to the Church, and constructed a church there. Since that time, much of the support for the parish has come from trust funds set up by the Ryan family, and the resulting dependency has manifested itself in many ways.

²¹ An attempt to establish "training programs" for prospective school board members was initiated in the late 1960's through the mechanism of local school committees. This idea met with apathy by most clergy and school boards, and was soon dropped.

²² The pastoral council would consist of delegates from the individual parish councils, and would be concerned with the wider sphere of diocesan issues and policies.

²³ Parish council constitutions vary greatly. Some allow a veto power to the parish priest, while others give total decision-making power to the full council, of which the priest is one member.

²⁴ A concrete effort was made by the Senate of Priests in the early 1970's to establish a mechanism to educate both clergy and lay people regarding parish councils. This effort was thwarted, perhaps inadvertently, by the Bishop, and since that time no similar effort has been made.

Chapter V

DYNAMICS OF DEPENDENCY IN RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND:

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an analysis of the data regarding change in the five subject communities. These data are compiled from the interview notes found in Appendix C. The analysis is made using the concepts and framework of dependency as discussed in Chapter II. The analysis attempts to determine whether the changes which have occurred in three specific areas of Newfoundland outport life have furthered, or helped to alleviate, the dependency patterns which existed there in 1949. The analysis also examines the nature of the changes.

For each of the three areas under study, a comparison is made of the pre-Confederation and present situations. This is followed by a discussion of the causes and processes involved in the changes.

CHANGES IN COMMUNITY GOVERNMENT, 1949-1979

A Comparison

Function and purpose of community government. At the time of Confederation, none of the five communities had an official government structure, although some elements of community government were present. For this reason, I distinguish the unstructured, informal "community

government" from the official, structured "local government" that came with the formation of community and town councils during the 1950's and 1960's. According to the report of the Whalen Commission (1974), there were only 20 incorporated local governments in Newfoundland in 1949.

Speaking of the development of local government in Newfoundland, the Whalen Report (1974: 26) states: "The most important single reason for the late development of local government in Newfoundland is . . . because the need for municipal services was not acutely felt until recent years."

This is substantiated by my research findings. In the five communities thirty years ago, there was no felt or perceived need for any community government structure. This, however, was not because needs were non-existent, but because the functions of local government were being provided by other agencies within the traditional outport structure. This is reflected in a comment from a St. Brendan's man:

In those days the priest was the ring-leader in St. Brendan's. He had all to do with the government too. We didn't hear too much from the government. Most of it was left up to the priest. Father Terry put the road through to Shalloway Cove almost on his own. The priest was the law, the doctor and everything to us then. We went to him for everything.

Referring to the same matter, the Whalen Report notes:

Wells sufficed as a water supply and the ocean took care of sewage. Fires could . . . be kept under control by volunteer fire brigades Order was easily kept by a small force of rangers, and by magistrates and Justices of the Peace Anything not thus provided was done without.

Many services . . . were early assumed and later continued by Newfoundland's central government. Where roads were not built, the sea remained the main avenue of communication. Education was historically the responsibility of the Churches The

central government, charitable institutions and wealthy individuals assumed responsibility for health services and charity. (Whalen Report, 1974: 26-27)

By 1979, over 300 communities had adopted some form of local government. As outlined in the article "Municipal Organizations in Newfoundland" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador: 1979), these local governments take any one of several forms:

- * city council - over 10,000 population: governed by an elected body;
- * town council - over 750 population: governed by an elected body;
- * rural district council - involving two or more adjacent communities: usually an elected body;
- * local improvement district council - usually involving areas of expected development: governed by a board of trustees which is appointed by the central government.

With the exception of Buchans Junction, all communities in the study now have local councils: community councils in St. Brendan's and Melrose formed in 1953 and 1968, respectively; a town council in Trepassey, 1967; and a community council in Harbour Main in 1965 which became a rural district council in 1977.¹

Local government was adopted by each of the communities according to its peculiar circumstances. The effects of modernization focused attention on the need and benefit of local government, the need not so much felt by the local communities as by the central government, which was desirous of escaping the burden of responsibility

for administering programs in hundreds of small communities throughout the island. What the communities, or at least what their representatives saw, was the benefit to be gained through access to government grants and funding once the local government mechanism was established.

As the Whalen Report states:

The post-Confederation years saw a continuation of many changes which had occurred during the war² and the introduction of others that created a more favourable climate for the development of municipal government. The growth of the fresh fish industry, increased industrialization in other resource sectors, particularly mining, and extensive social assistance benefits both created the need for services and provided the means to obtain them. Communities became aware of the policy of financial assistance extended by the government and were willing to take advantage of it. (Whalen Report, 1974: 32-33)

Data from this study do not determine whether the initiation of local government was seen in any of the communities as other than a means of obtaining government grants. One of the indications that this might be so comes from some Trepassey respondents. They indicate that the fear of uncontrolled development and house building as a result of the local fish plant expansion in 1965 was a major factor in their acceptance of a council.

Whatever the initial intended purpose of the local governments in these communities, the actual functions being performed by them is more easily discernible. In each of the communities the council presently provides various services, including: fire protection (Harbour Main and Trepassey); water and sewer services (at some stage of development in all communities); street lighting and garbage collection (in all communities); street paving (Harbour Main and Trepassey); and various regulatory and control functions. The council is community spokesman to all outside agencies and the media.³ Further,

it provides an avenue for democratic government participation to all residents, although there is general apathy and lack of interest. On this point, a St. Brendan's respondent conveys a generally-held feeling about the Council's political strength: "The Community Council has more political pull and gets more recognition than any other agency in the community, including the priest." The same feeling is expressed in the comment of a Harbour Main resident:

Decisions about the community are now made by the Council. I think that's the proper way. They are doing alright. I regret having no input because it's not an elected body. But that is my own fault, and I hope there is enough concern and interest at next election to bring back an elected council.

Generally, there is an increased community spirit since the councils began in each of the communities, which is particularly apparent from interviews in Melrose, St. Brendan's and Trepassey. As one relatively new Trepassey resident states, "The Council has made a big difference here. I think the people are more aware of the community and more proud of what is here. I wouldn't want to live anywhere else." The residents generally have a greater appreciation of the councils' tax-collecting role and a belief that value is being received for the average twenty to twenty-five dollars levied annually in poll taxes. As well, there is a positive attitude toward the control and regulatory functions of the councils. Also, the functioning of the two citizens' committees in Buchans Junction is credited with providing added spirit and confidence to residents there.

One major weakness in present local government is in the area of planning. Trepassey respondents, in particular, speak of the need for zoning regulations and planning for more efficient and economical,

design and use of water and sewer services.

Structure of community government. Although prior to 1949 no official structure existed, some of the basic functions of community government were carried out to a limited degree. These functions, as outlined in Decks Awash (Vol. 6, No. 6: 14-15), usually include the provision and administration of needed services; community planning; setting controls and regulations; and tax collection. The fact that some of these functions were provided despite the absence of any official local government structure, is explained in sections of the Whalen Report (1974) previously noted. In addition, the respondents in the five surveyed communities offer explanations peculiar to their own situations. Except for Buchans Junction with its higher non-Catholic population, their comments indicate that the ultimate voice in these communities was that of the priest. While a core of local leaders such as the chairman of the local roads board, the Justice of the Peace, merchants, teachers, policemen, or anyone of proven ability such as the better boat builders or fishing-skippers, were usually involved in reaching decisions, they functioned in an advisory role only. Reflective of the general feeling in the communities regarding the role and status of the priest thirty years ago is this comment from a St.

Brendan's woman:

In both parish and community affairs the priest had complete authority and control here until these past few years. We didn't look to have any say then. It was all left up to the priest. We used to be afraid of the priest. We figured he was God Almighty and wouldn't speak to him unless he spoke first.

Further illustration of the priest's diverse role is given by the fact that, where communities did not have access to police and

medical services, the priest provided those services. As a specific example, up to the mid-1960's, the priest at St. Brendan's accepted responsibility for provision of medical services. Drugs and supplies were provided bi-annually on requisition from the Department of Health in St. John's. The priest was also recognized by the residents as the authority for law and order, and until the mid-1960's, this fact was accepted by the RCMP who made only an annual visit to the island as a matter of procedure. A somewhat similar picture is provided in the following comment from a Trepassey resident:

During the 1940's and the 1950's the priest was the kingpin here in Trepassey. He ran the whole show in the parish and in the town, although the merchants and the teachers had some influence. There was a local roads board, but apart from decisions about the roads, the priest spotted the problems, took the initiative and made the decisions.

Since education was a Church responsibility, all decisions in this area were made exclusively by the priest, who was the chairman of the school board.⁴ To some degree, law and order was also promoted by the Justice of the Peace (usually one in each community). Even where there was a resident policeman, it appears that, although he possessed the legal authority, he was to some degree under the ambit of the priest's influence. Older respondents in Harbour Main and Trepassey inferred that the policeman's decisions often involved the priest's "advice."

The one community service which was provided by an official structure was the maintenance of the local roads. This was carried out by means of a grant from the central government.⁵

In summation, the mechanism of community government in these outports prior to Confederation consisted of a complex, unofficial

structure involving the central government (in providing grants for roads), the local roads board, various functionaries, and a core of local leaders under the leadership of the priest. In all cases, the ultimate decision was that of the priest. This mechanism did not provide for regular planning and functioned on an ad hoc basis to meet needs as they arose.⁶

By 1979, except for a rural district council in Harbour Main, the local governments comprise a number of elected representatives in each community. Usually the person receiving the highest number of votes is the chairman or mayor, but this is not necessarily so. Meetings are regularly scheduled with prepared agendas and are generally open to the public.

Since all residents are eligible for nomination and election, a voice in community decisions no longer depends on position or reputation, and a new pattern of local leadership has emerged in the five communities. For the first time, women have the opportunity to play dominant roles in a hitherto male-dominated society, and in each community women have taken leading roles in recent years.⁷

Representatives of most councils indicated that there are individuals and organizations in the community with the potential for applying pressure to council, and that if someone is interested and actively concerned, the council is willing and eager to listen. There are no priests on the four councils involved, but it is generally held that the priests are co-operative and interested in council activities. No special provision is made for their input other than the regular procedure of meetings, although informal discussion of serious issues

between the priest and council members does take place.

Effectiveness. The priest was the essential component of community government structure in most Catholic outport communities in 1949. While the situation was effective as far as it went, only a few of the traditional functions of community government were carried out. Of these, the function of control or discipline was very effectively administered by the priest who, in this regard, had the backing and confidence of the entire community. In cases where the priest supplied medical services, these were carried out under very adverse circumstances and to the best of his ability.⁸ There were, however, many functions of community government that were overlooked or not considered. For instance, there was little planning, little concern for basic services, few measures of local control or regulation, no provision for broad input from citizens, and no attempt to promote local fiscal responsibility.

In 1979, the situation is vastly changed and the apparatus to foster effectiveness exists in the elective process. However, a problem common to most of the communities studied is the apathy and lack of interest of the citizens in their local government. Most citizens seem to be unaware of the purpose and potential of the local government structure. In Decks Awash one reads:

A municipality, however small, is in essence a self-help group. It bands together in such a way that it has control of those it elects to administer the wishes of the people. The people direct the council to seek certain common aims, and place reasonable controls on those unwilling to co-operate in making the community livable. The council should be the collective expression of what is happening in the community. (1977, Vol. 6, No. 6: 15)

Almost without exception, there is popular satisfaction with the work of the councils, but some concern over the hesitancy of capable people to accept involvement in local government because "it is a time-consuming and thankless job." These concerns are echoed in all communities but especially in Melrose and Harbour Main. In spite of this, there is no desire to see the communities revert to the system prior to local government. As one Harbour Main man states: "The Council here is as good as we are willing to make it. If we show interest it can really be effective. If we don't care, then we deserve what we get."

At the community level, apart from the voting process at election time, the only apparatus for combating poor or ineffective local government is the pressure of publicity. Several respondents refer to this, but agree that the provincial media "are not all that interested in the little things that go on out here." At the provincial level, the Minister of Municipal Affairs can take steps to deal with cases of negligence or misadministration.

Causes and Process of the Change

Newfoundland's late start in the area of municipal government was due to many factors: the repressive legislation against permanent settlement initiated in the Seventeenth Century; the isolation of some 1,300 communities with an average population of less than 250; the lack of knowledge and interest in local government of most people; the absence of cash because of the credit system in the Newfoundland outport economy; the belief that local government would mean property

taxes; and the fact that most essential services were, to some degree, already being provided in the outports. Attempts to combat these negative factors began with the Alderdice Government in the 1930's when The Local Government Act of 1933 was passed, and especially when the Commission of Government agreed to provide special grants for roads, and passed The Local Administration Act, 1937 which provided a special act for each local government established.

It was The Local Government Act of 1949, and The Community Councils Act of 1953, however, which proved to be the legislative background of a burgeoning local government network. Additionally, in 1951, the Federation of Municipalities was created to correlate the views of municipalities and to present a united front to the central government. Further, as a branch of the newly created (1952) Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, the Local Government Division carried on a strong campaign to educate Newfoundlanders about the benefits of local government.

The Second World War provided a measure of well-being to many outport communities and introduced cash into the credit economy. This continued and greatly expanded when Confederation brought the sudden influx of federal transfer payments and initial boom of secondary industry and construction. Added to these financial factors was the program of grants and incentives offered by the Provincial Government to communities undertaking incorporation.

On the socio-cultural scene, the effects of modernization, urbanization and increasing sophistication due to higher education levels, media exposure and mobility became more obvious. Attitudes

concerning independence, individual rights, personal responsibility and self-reliance encouraged more and more people to seek means of achieving a better standard of living. Consumerism and the demonstration effect of a few progressive communities further heightened expectations and desires.

Of the communities studied, the first to achieve local government was St. Brendan's in 1953; Buchans Junction is not yet incorporated; and the other three communities received local governments during the mid-1960's. In the cases of Melrose and Trepassey, the moving force in the introduction of local government was the priest. Usually the Department of Municipal Affairs or the local Member of the House of Assembly (MHA) made contact with the parish priest and the procedures and programs of local government were outlined. If the priest favoured the idea, he would usually attempt to "sell the idea" to his parishioners. This was the procedure I followed in Melrose, and it was also the process used by Father Shea in St. Brendan's. It involved meetings and discussions in the hall with the Holy Name and Altar Societies and many private discussions with individuals over the course of several months.

The local MHA's were involved in the formation of most councils,⁹ to varying degrees, as were the local leaders in each community. In Trepassey and Harbour Main particularly, they were involved in attempting to make residents aware of the benefits of local government.¹⁰ In each of these instances, the influence and impact of residents who had previously been exposed to, or involved in, other organizations outside the community was an important factor.

CHANGES IN HOUSING, 1949-1979

A Comparison

In 1949, the common architectural style of outport housing was the two-storey, box-shape, flat-roofed house. The exception was Buchans Junction where most of the houses were small one-storey structures. The main living area was the kitchen where cooking, eating, working and entertaining took place. While most houses had parlours, these were used only for special, formal occasions. The size of the houses was fairly standard, and basements were the exception. It was common, at that time, to have more than one family share a single house.

All houses in the communities studied were owner occupied: no mortgaging or financing was involved. Building a new house involved various members of the extended family who provided the raw materials by way of logs cut into lumber. Most of the construction was done under the supervision of one of the town's acknowledged "expert carpenters," normally the only worker under steady pay. Usually the houses were built in the style most familiar to the particular carpenter involved, and detailed plans were uncommon.

Location of houses up to 1949 was determined by proximity to the water or the road, the powerline (electricity was available only in Harbour Main and Trepassey up to 1949), and also by the availability of non-productive land. Most families had vegetable and hay gardens which had much practical value, so that a house took up as little space as possible. Conservation of heat and land space were two reasons

suggested by one respondent for the prevalence of the two-storey house. Usually, family property included a barn, a cellar and sometimes a fish-store. Often families in these communities kept sheep, chicken and possibly a cow or horse. Since there was no refrigeration, storage of vegetables necessitated a cellar. Families engaged in the fishery usually had a shed or store for repairs and storage of fishing gear. In addition to the structures mentioned, most families also had an outdoor privy which would vary in size and decor according to the degree of affluence or pretense of the owner.

Maintenance and renovation of homes up to 1949 was carried out when necessary for the practical purposes of protection and durability. In all the communities, homes were well maintained with roofs tarred and exteriors painted on a regular basis. The painting included the fences and barns but mainly as a means of protection against the weather. The more affluent in the community, such as the merchant or the priest, could usually afford the luxury of beautification of the grounds, but this was not common. Barns were usually treated with ochre, and fences with a white-wash mixture of lime and water.

In those pre-Confederation days, residents were proud of their homes, although there was a little hesitancy in this regard by some Melrose respondents. Several expressed a degree of embarrassment over the condition and appearance of some of the houses in the community in the past. This uneasy feeling about community and housing conditions thirty years ago seems to have been limited to Buchans Junction and Melrose, and is reflected in the following comment from a resident of the latter community:

The biggest change in housing here is that people now have some pride in their homes. The attitude has changed. Thirty years ago, if someone had come here to take pictures it wouldn't have bothered me. It wouldn't have come to mind. But now, looking back, I realize it should have bothered me.

Services and conveniences in 1949 were minimal, and in some communities non-existent. Three of the study communities had no electricity and none had any public services. Water was provided by privately owned wells which were often shared by many families. Sewage disposal was by means of an open pit or cesspool, or, for those close to the ocean, by a direct drain to the landwash. Houses were heated by a wood or coal stove in the kitchen, with louveres to upstairs bedrooms, and sometimes a kerosene oil stove in the upstairs hall. Fuel for heating purposes was mainly wood, with coal used as well in later years. Each man would cut and haul his wood in winter when the ponds and gullies were frozen, thereby providing a good "slide path" to the "woods." Location of the "woods" and distance from the community varied from just a few yards in Buchans Junction to up to ten miles in Harbour Main. Coal supplies were usually delivered by schooner to the merchant each fall.

In the three communities without electricity, houses usually were lit by a kerosene or tilley lamp in the kitchen, with a second lamp sometimes placed in the upstairs hall during the early night time, and barns or stores by lantern. One long-time Melrose fisherman states that "getting the lights in the stage in 1950" made a dramatic difference in their efficiency and workload, and put them 'miles ahead of everyone else in the place."

Home insurance was rarely used in the communities in 1949,

except for merchants and clergy and a very small percentage of the "average" residents. For example, one knowledgeable Melrose resident states that only three or four homes were insured in Melrose in 1950.

In 1979 the situation is changed greatly.¹¹ Today there is no common architectural style to the houses in the five communities. The more recently built bungalow, ranch or split-level style of home now contrasts the traditional two-storey, salt-box, older houses.

Although the size and format of the newer housing varies, there is a tendency towards smaller, two or three bedroom homes with full basements. Usually the kitchen is more compact than in older homes, with the living room being the prominent feature occupying the major portion of the space.

Although some of the newer homes have been built independently and are owned outright, most involve mortgaging and some degree of financing. Except for Trepassey¹² there is little rental housing in the communities.

Construction of the newer homes has usually been done by a local small contractor, although the owner may have supplied his own labour, especially in finishing the house interior. In most cases the materials are purchased from building supply firms, but occasionally a man cuts his own logs for the framing and rough lumber.

Location patterns have changed much since 1949: the newer houses are located with consideration to suitability of terrain for landscaping, and accessibility to services. In some cases, in spite of the availability of serviced lots (as in Trepassey), newer homes have been built on unserviced land which has more important positive

features such as potential growth value, better surroundings, or more pleasant view.

There is little consideration in recent home construction for exterior buildings such as barns, sheds or cellars, but adjoining garages are a common feature of the newer homes. Fences are used more for beautification than for protection, and ranch-style fences are common in all communities. Colours vary as well as materials, with many of the new homes finished with a metal siding. Roofs are generally covered with some sort of asphalt shingle and some of the homes have custom-made aluminum doors and windows.

Maintenance of houses in the five communities is done regularly today. Because of modern materials, most of the new homes are relatively maintenance-free compared with the older ones. In each community there is hardly any older house which has not undergone major renovation during the past ten years. Such renovation usually centered around kitchen and living room areas, with expansion of the latter and contraction of the former. Almost all homes in the communities have indoor plumbing with many relying on private water and sewer systems. At the time of this study, all of the communities were at varying stages of obtaining water and sewer services. The new homes and many of the older ones have some source of central heating, usually an oil furnace or electric heat, and some homeowners during the past several years have reverted to a modern wood-burning stove or furnace. Most homes now have modern kitchen facilities, carpeting, telephone and television. Home insurance is much more common today than in 1949, although it varies community to community. All the newer homes are insured, since

this is a condition for financing, but, in spite of so much major renovation, it would seem that many of the older homes are either not insured or underinsured. Homeowners in communities closer to St. John's, such as Harbour Main, seem to be more insurance-conscious with most homes there being covered, while in Buchans Junction and St. Brendan's most of the older homes are not insured.

Mobile homes are found in each of the communities except St. Brendan's, where transportation problems make it impractical. These mobile homes are interspersed in the communities among the permanent homes.

Causes of the Change in Housing

The socio-cultural factors. Modernization, more money and increased awareness of the outside world are the three most common explanations for the change in housing which has taken place, primarily during the past ten years.

Up to 1949 at least, four of the communities were considered to be fishing communities; Buchans Junction was the exception, its residents being mainly trappers, loggers or miners. The traditional lifestyle of fishing communities gave way to one more compatible with demands of regular working hours and conditions since the almost total decline of the fishery in recent years in all communities with the exception of Trepassey. A closer look at changing life-style and attitudes, as indicated in the research data, should indicate many of the remote causes of the changes in outport housing.

The change in ownership patterns has been prompted partly by

a different attitude towards borrowing and credit. Younger people are not intimidated by financing and do not hesitate to build or renovate with the aid of outside financing. This is in direct contrast to some of the older respondents whose attitudes are illustrated by the comment, "There are a lot of nice homes here now. But I'd rather own what I have such as it is, than live in a new house owned by a finance company."

A changing attitude towards land use and value coupled with an increasing appreciation of sufficient space, has been partly responsible for the change in house styles and location patterns. There is little concern for the amount of ground space occupied, thus allowing ranch and split-level style houses to be quite popular. The size of the newer homes seems to be an effect of changing attitudes towards family size and older people. Also, a changing attitude towards family planning and contraception is offered as an explanation for a smaller house. The nuclear family now seems to be the accepted and expected family unit, and houses today are built to accommodate just the parents and children.¹³ The desire for privacy is seen as another reason for there being fewer multiple-family houses especially of the newer style.

An increasing feeling of independence, self-respect and pride is responsible for much of the renovation, beautification and landscaping associated with housing in the five communities today. The desire to "have as good as the next man," as well as the effect of an increased feeling of autonomy are reasons for much of the change. This feeling of autonomy helps explain the many different styles of architecture referred to earlier. As one young woman states, "We like to feel that we can think and choose for ourselves. We are not limited

to the one old style or plan."

Although fencing in close proximity to the house is generally in good repair, that which is "in back" or away from the community is generally forsaken.

The financial and physical factors. The most commonly advanced proximate causes for the change in housing are the availability of money and services. Availability of money is the key factor in the amount of renovation and new construction, particularly in Melrose where there is full-time employment at the Fish Plant in Port Union. An uneducated but skilled fish cutter can earn up to \$18,000 annually. Available money includes not just wages, but also money through mortgage and finance companies and banks. The renovation and interior refurnishing undertaken by many older people was attributed to the availability of money from their Old Age Pensions. The various incentives offered by the Federal Government to stimulate and support housing has allowed many of the renovation and new starts to be undertaken.¹⁴ An example is the home insulation program administered by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation which has been used to improve a number of houses in each of the communities.

The growing number of services available to outport communities is adding further impetus and encouragement to either renovate or build. Apart from community services such as water, sewer, etc. provided by local governments, the services of building contractors, building supply companies, mortgage and finance companies are also available, particularly from the larger centres of St. John's, Gander, Clarenville and Grand Falls. To a lesser extent, other reasons for

the differences in style and type of housing are the availability of house plans from mortgage companies, builder's catalogues and magazines.

Tying together this availability of money, services and resources is the highly complex mechanism of consumerism and advertising.

- Socio-psychological factors. Mobility, the media, higher education levels and integration with other communities have played a large part in the changing housing scene in each of the communities.

The mobility offered by modern transportation and a good road system allows people to see the styles and kinds of houses in other communities. The presence of television, newspapers and magazines in every community creates an awareness of broad selections in house styles, materials and furnishings.

An important factor in spreading new housing ideas in Melrose and Trepassey is the intermingling with people from other communities working in the fish plants. As one Melrose respondent comments: "We are working elbow to elbow with people from different communities. It's helped us in lots of ways. We've all made new friends, visited their homes, gotten new ideas and a broader way of looking at things."

Trepassey also offers two different types of rental housing: the fishery houses, and the Department of Transport (DOT) houses.¹⁵ The "fishery houses" have had a negative impact on new house construction in recent years, with the result that few, if any, residents are willing to consider building a house in the serviced "fishery house" area, nor would they build a house in the same small, bungalow style. On the other hand, the better quality DOT houses created a positive

demonstration effect in the community with some of the newer privately built homes being in that style of construction. Another example of the demonstration effect is the construction of the new school and renovation of the rectory and church in St. Brendan's during the late 1960's.¹⁶ Regarding this, one woman commented:

This offered us a ray of hope and encouragement. When we saw so much money going into the school and the Church property, it encouraged us to do something with our own houses. After ten years of letting everything go, we finally began to invest in our homes again.

Another psychological factor affecting renovation and beautification of property is the desire to "have as good as or better than the next fellow." This "keeping up with the Joneses" mentality is a much more important stimulus today than in the past because of the ready availability of money, and because most houses in the communities are accessible to public scrutiny.

CHANGES IN ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF CHURCH, 1949-1979

The role and influence of the Catholic Church is examined in its relation to both spiritual and temporal issues, by comparing the situation as it was in 1949 with that of today. There is also an examination of the causes and processes involved in the changes that have occurred. This comparison is made on the basis of the Church's role and influence in parish, religious or spiritual matters, and on its role in civic and community affairs.

A Comparison

Parish and religious issues. Since all matters relating to

parish and religion were under the jurisdiction of the priest in 1949, this analysis does not so much concern the object of the Church's influence, but rather the process involved. Although we could distinguish here between the Church as an institution and the Church as the local priest, for all practical purposes, the latter interpretation is the one taken for purposes of discussion.

The initiation of issues relating to religious or parish matters was the prerogative of the priest, or at the very least, pursuit of these issues depended on the priest's approval.¹⁷ He was also responsible for all matters relating to education. In fact, up to 1968, every parish was coterminous with a school board of which the priest was chairman. Although in all communities there was some degree of consultation with the priest on religious matters, the final decision was his. In all parishes except Buchans Junction, the mechanisms that were sometimes used as a means of receiving and conveying information were the women's Altar Society and the men's Holy Name Society. The objective of both organizations was spiritual although the Altar Society usually had a major role in fund raising, with some involvement from the men's group especially at parish socials. As one St. Brendan's respondent states, "The priest used the Altar Society to get across a lot of ideas and information. But it was all one-way communication."

In communities without a resident priest (Buchans Junction and Melrose), the priest's authority was vicariously exercised by the teacher or some other recognized leader. In Buchans Junction, with no Catholic teacher, the "next in charge" was the Catholic merchant with whom the priest stayed while visiting the community.

The implementation of parish decisions made by the priest was usually quite effective. Only on rare occasions would anyone dare to publicly question the priest's wisdom or authority since everyone acknowledged him to be the expert in most matters. In those days, as one respondent comments, "You wouldn't think of getting up against the priest."¹⁸ How a decision was implemented was determined by the priest, although in such matters as construction, the details were usually delegated to the senior carpenter involved. Such autocratic methods, universally followed in all parishes, were highly effective and efficient.

Responsibility for the operation of the parish and the schools belonged directly to the priest. He was not answerable to his parishioners, only to his bishop. Even today, parishioners cannot depose the priest. They might petition the bishop who could request or force the priest's resignation, but this has rarely happened in any outport parish. In communities where there was a convent, the priest delegated much of the responsibility for education to the sisters, although he still held the ultimate authority.

By 1979, three of the five parishes have experienced parish councils. Trepassey had a council only briefly, and Harbour Main has never had one. St. Brendan's, which had the first parish council in Newfoundland in the late 1960's, saw its council effectively silenced because of a weak constitution and a strong-minded priest who refused to accept it.

The method of initiating action on parish matters in 1979 depends on whether or not there is a parish council. In both Melrose

and Buchans Junction there are active councils which are responsible for the administration of the parish.¹⁹ In the realm of religious matters, the priest has authority and influence, but certain aspects of these religious matters fall under the authority of the council. For example, planning and scheduling religious services is carried out by a liturgical sub-committee of council, but in conjunction with the priest, who could be a member or chairman of the committee.

Regular council meetings with prepared agendas allow broad input and encourage the initiation of any issue by a parishioner through his or her representative on council. In the other three parishes with no council, identification or initiation of issues and problems is the responsibility of the priest.

Parish council constitutions vary. Perhaps the most significant point of variation is in the use of a veto power. Some constitutions, as in the case of Buchans Junction, grant the priest a veto vote, but in such cases, there is usually provision that any vetoed decision must immediately be brought to the attention of the bishop. In both Harbour Main and Trepassey there are convents, so that the sisters are responsible for much of the religious and liturgical activity. Even though there are men's and women's Church groups in these parishes, they are considered to have little input.

Whether or not a council exists effects the procedure following initiation of an issue. If there is a council, the matter is usually discussed at a council meeting until a consensus is reached or a vote taken. If there is no council, there is no official structure for consultation, but the priest makes his decision after sometimes talking

it over with key individuals or groups. To the extent that there is no structure for input, there is also no structure to overcome the priest's decision.

The implementation of parish decisions without councils being involved is the same as in the past, with the priest overseeing or delegating to a willing individual or possibly the men's or women's Church groups. Parish councils, on the other hand, have a structured mechanism whereby any issue or decision usually falls under the competency of a working sub-committee which is responsible for implementation and report.

In the non-council parishes there is no higher authority within the parish to whom the priest must answer for his decisions or actions. Parish councils, however, are answerable to the parishioners who vote them into office. Where there are parish councils, the priest's authority in parish matters is shared with the members of the council; the priest's willingness to co-operate and function within a council framework, however, seems to accord him a greater influence with the respect from the people.

The content area of Church involvement has been drastically reduced in recent years. Although the priest is still morally responsible for the religious education of the students in his parish, he now has no authority in schools, and is no longer responsible for education. In fact, his influence is considered by most respondents to be of little consequence to both students and teachers. The consolidation of school boards in the late 1960's ignored parish boundaries, with the result that the number of boards was reduced from 80 to 12.

Priests may now be board members, but are not automatically chairmen. Board administration and the administration of individual schools is the responsibility of professionals. Today there is good rapport and co-operation between most priests and the schools, but respondents suggest there is not enough personal contact.

Community issues. In 1949, the only community issue which was not under the jurisdiction of the parish priest was the problem of local roads. Any other issues were handled by the priest as a matter of course. Circumstances, and the resulting scope of the priest's responsibility varied from community to community. For instance, as mentioned earlier, up to the late 1960's in St. Brendans, the priest had the added responsibility of providing medical and police services.

Initiation of community action on a particular issue, such as taking up a petition for a wharf or a bridge, usually depended on the priest's approval. In this regard however, all five communities had a core of local leaders who usually functioned as a consultative body to the priest. Sometimes these leaders would identify problems or issues and bring them to the priest's attention for his ultimate decision.²⁰

The one community in which the priest had little or no influence was Buchans Junction. The reason offered is that up to the late 1960's, the parish priest stationed at Buchans had no regular involvement with the parish (mission), and no involvement whatsoever in community matters.

Involved in the initiation and implementation of many community decisions was the local politician. In Trepassey and Harbour Main, the

MHA's kept close contact with the parish priest.²¹ In most cases this was a symbiotic relationship, although there were some instances of antagonism.²² In many ways, the priest was, in effect, voluntarily carrying out some of the functions of local government because there was no other person or agency willing to accept the responsibility. In Harbour Main and Melrose particularly, it seems that members of the communities have judged most priests on their performance in community issues in that they have been considered responsible for the growth or the retardation of the community.²³

In 1979, the situation in the five communities is much simplified and relatively similar. The Church has no special influence in community issues and no control over the local government in any of the communities. This fact was emphasized in a conversation with a retired couple from St. Brendan's during which the following comments were made:

During the past six years or so the priest hasn't had the same influence he used to have here. Now the Community Council makes all the decisions for the place. It has the authority and the responsibility. We have the medical clinic now, and if we need the police or the doctor, all we have to do is get on the 'phone. I guess we don't have to depend on the priest so much anymore, so he doesn't have the same say and push he used to have.

In the decisions of the town or community council, the position of parish priest does not afford more influence than any other prominent community position. The priest's opinion is usually sought on serious community issues as is the opinion of any other community leader. The exception is Buchans Junction where there is no resident priest or local government. Contrary to the past, in both St. Brendan's and

Trepassey, if the priest were to publicly oppose the council on any serious matter, the council would attempt through discussion to resolve the conflict, but in the final analysis would abide by its own decision.

By 1979, a distinction can clearly be made between the authority of the priest and the degree of his influence.²⁴ In community issues, the institutional role of parish priest offers him no authority, although he may have some personal influence with individuals who are part of the decision-making process. On the other hand, as an individual personality, with specific abilities, interests or qualifications, he might exercise an appreciable influence in community affairs.

Causes and Processes Involved in the Changes

In this discussion, a distinction is maintained between parish and community issues, and each is examined with a focus on the internal and external factors which have led to the diminished role of the Church in both areas.

In parish/religious issues: There are some obvious causes internal to the Church, and others relating to the contemporary socio-cultural fabric and structure common to the communities.

Factors internal to the Church which have contributed to its diminished role and influence in parish/religious matters are primarily related to the Second Vatican Council and the trends and atmosphere resulting from it. Generally, there is a greater feeling of freedom in discussing matters of religion and a more relaxed moral atmosphere. There is also a degree of uncertainty and confusion felt by most Catholics since the Second Vatican Council. This is due in part to

the proliferation, by Catholic writers and theologians, of so many divergent views on such issues as contraception, divorce, abortion, marriage, celibacy of the clergy and the confusion resulting from various experimental rites and procedures.

Another factor in the decreased Church influence and increased self-reliance of many Catholics in religious matters is the "loss of mystique" of Church and priest. This loss is the result of a greater knowledge of, and understanding by, contemporary Catholics of both the individual priest and the operations of the institutional Church. The knowledge and understanding is a result of such things as: higher education levels; the availability and accessibility of various forms of media education, i.e. television, magazines, and inexpensive literary publications; the open discussion of issues which were formerly closed or reserved to the official Church; the use of the vernacular language instead of Latin in the liturgy; the relaxation of rules regarding clerical dress; the recent exodus from the ranks of the clergy and religious; and the trend among the clergy to be more involved in the community and with the people.²⁵

Many of the Church policies and principles referred to in Chapter IV have the potential to make the role of the Church more meaningful and effective in contemporary society. However, the point of interface of these principles and the people themselves is at the local parish level in the person of the individual priest. His attitudes and convictions determine if and how Church policy is translated into practical action at the parish level. These attitudes and convictions are the composite result of a wide range of

interrelating factors which include: family background and upbringing; seminary training; educational updating and current reading; past work involvements; extra-parochial involvements; and personality, temperament and ability.

Individual ability and personality aside, the divergence of attitudes and stands among the priests in the five communities is not easily explained. Based on personal observation and experience, however, I consider that these attitudes depend to a great extent on one's work, social and educational experience. I feel that some priests are more willing and ready to promote Church policy relative to change because they have previously been exposed to broad involvements in the non-Catholic communities in which they have worked. Others, having been limited in their experience to totally Catholic communities, are less ready and disposed to treat these changes positively. However, no matter how exposed an individual priest may be to such outside influences, the most important component is still his individual ability and personality. If a priest is unwilling or uninterested in promoting a specific policy, then it will not be effective at the local level.

Other factors contributing to the change in the role and influence of the Church include: increased sophistication, independence and a greater critical awareness shared by most people of all ages and backgrounds. As one St. Brendan's respondent states, echoing the sentiments of most:

People today are no longer content to sit back and accept anything and everything the Church and the priest says. We want to think for ourselves more and don't need to depend on the priest for every little thing like we once did.

Modernization of outport Newfoundland with increased mobility, exposure to the world through mass media and increased educational opportunities is part of the reason for a change in attitudes. It has resulted in parishioners who think and act with greater confidence, pride, independence and broadmindedness.²⁶

Another external factor relating to the diminished influence of the Church is the loss of authority in the field of education which, until ten years ago, accounted for much of the work and influence of the priest in his parish. The centralization and regionalization of schools mean that most students have little contact with their parish priest after the age of twelve. This occurs because elementary schools "feed into" junior and senior high schools covering a region which may include a number of parishes. As a result of this, the priest's influence on a sizeable segment of his parish population is minimal.

In the parishes of Trepassey and Melrose the influence of non-Catholic friends, work-associates and teachers in the schools is also a factor in the diminished influence of the Church.²⁷

Another important factor is the effect of age of parishioners as regards the degree of influence of the priest. People over forty tend to still be influenced by the priest but no longer allow themselves to be intimidated. The reason offered is that this age group had been "brought up under the old system and it is habit and custom" for many of them. The priest still exercises influence over the elementary school children while they are in the parish, but he has no control and little influence over the fifteen to forty age group.

The most important factor however, appears to relate to the

personality of the individual priest. Individual personality traits, stands and attitudes are a major contributing factor in the loss of influence in religious and parish matters.²⁸ Because of the more frequent transfer of priests, parishioners are now exposed to many different personalities, interests, and levels of ability in their priests. In three of the parishes, this is a major factor in declining influence, while in one instance, the very frequency of the changes was considered to have had a negative effect.²⁹ Physical mobility and willingness to get involved has been an important factor in the personal growth and development of priests. In my own case, it was obvious in the St. Brendan's interviews that, in the eyes of the people, there was quite a contrast between my conception of the role of the parish priest and that of my successor, Bill Shallow. Having had no previous work experience prior to St. Brendan's, I remained close to the status quo in my thinking and work. Shallow, however, having spent the previous five years in the large, "mixed" town of Harbour Grace, became immediately involved in all aspects of life on St. Brendan's when he arrived. In more recent years, my involvements in various provincial and national organizations (National Federation of Senates, Atlantic Conference of Priests, Canadian School Trustees Association, Sport Canada, the Canadian Figure Skating Association and others) have afforded many opportunities to increase my knowledge and revise my attitudes and perspectives. I consider this to be part of the reason for my more critical attitude relative to the structure and activity of the Church in Grand Falls Diocese.

In the three areas of local government, education and Church

activity, the process of Church involvement in promoting change has been the same. The process has involved discussion, two-way communication, debate and democratic participation over a period of time. The procedure I have employed, especially in Melrose and Buchans Junction, involved introduction of the idea or policy in a Sunday homily as the practical application of a particular Scriptural message. The follow-up included discussion of the relevant issue with the various Church or community groups, debate and discussion in the schools, and discussion with individuals and groups within the parish and community. The process was lengthy, and in each case it took more than a year to reach the preliminary stages of implementation.

An integral part of the procedure was an activity aimed at demonstrating the sincerity of the democratic structure proposed. In Buchans Junction, this involved my taking an illogical stand on the very practical issue of roof-repairs to the church-hall. As I had hoped, this stand was challenged and alternatives proposed. The majority vote of council members favoured one of the alternatives. When I did not exercise the veto power but agreed with the decision, it opened the way to future meaningful democratic participation. The promotion of such democratic processes in Church activity presupposes a thorough understanding and sincerity of motive by the priest, and hinges on his ability to allow the democratic process to function. In both Melrose and Buchans Junction, success with the procedure initially hinged on attainment of a very pragmatic and highly visible objective, and only subsequently gradually advanced to the level of theory and principles.

Causes of diminished influence in community affairs. In all the communities studied, except Buchans Junction, where there was an increase in influence, the main reasons for the diminished authority and influence of the priest are: the general trend towards secularization; the effects of some of the Second Vatican Council changes; and the presence and effectiveness of local government and a host of other organizations and agencies. Local governments now perform functions and roles which thirty years ago were the responsibility and prerogative of the priest.³⁰ Other civic organizations such as Lion's clubs, recreation associations and local sports groups exist which have also taken over some of his former functions.

The financial independence resulting from steady employment and availability of money in the communities of Melrose, Trepassey and Harbour Main, coupled with a generally more self-reliant attitude, is another contributing factor in the loss of Church influence in temporal matters. As one older respondent put it, "Today, we is wise on our own."

The changing culture of outport society referred to earlier, and the different attitudes promoted by modernization and secularization combine with other societal and psychological factors to produce an atmosphere in which Church authority and influence seems to have less and less relevance. The presence of so many "outsiders" in the community in recent years has provided new and broader ideas and outlooks, and has prevented the formation of "parish cliques" in the community that could be controlled by the priest.³¹

The existence of central and regional schools in recent years

is a cause of diminished community influence inasmuch as it means a break in contact between the local priest and the young people of his parish from the ages twelve to eighteen. These students are absent from their home parish except on weekends, and usually are not involved in any structured way with their parish. The fact that these schools usually provide the most suitable sports and recreational facilities for the area also reduces dependency in this sphere on the local parish. It seems that once this contact of students with the local parish is broken, it is often effectively lost even if the students live in the parish after high school.

One statement which seems to encompass most of the above reasons for diminished influence, and which most respondents reflect is that, "Thirty years ago the parish and the priest were the centre of all activity here. Today, parish activities are only one of the many activities in which people are involved." Throughout the communities there is a general emphasis on "the ability to think for ourselves," and a feeling of self-reliance due to education, mobility, media exposure and democratic participation in various organizations and agencies.

Regardless of circumstances, a priest with the proper personality, ability and interest will have influence in the community commensurate with these characteristics. The loss of influence and a sometimes tarnished image of the Church is considered, in several instances related to me, to be the result of a weak or ineffective priest replacing one who had been quite strong and effective.

Quite reflective of the general feeling is the statement of

one Harbour Main resident: "Today, we see ourselves as a community first and a parish second. It is a community with a parish component." This is in contrast to the situation thirty years ago, and reflects a diminished perception of the Church and the priest by many people.

IMPLICATIONS FOR DEPENDENCY RELATIONSHIPS

Modernization and development have usually been accompanied by changes in the values and attitudes of the individuals involved, and by changes in the structure and function of related organizations. This is true of the five subject communities which, during the past thirty years, have moved away from the gemeinschaft-type social system to the more formal, rational gesellschaft-type. The gemeinschaft characteristics of traditional, emotional and sacred behavior patterns are present to a much lesser degree in the five communities today than in 1949.

Efficiency and effectiveness have replaced custom and tradition as the significant values in the social stratification, structures and activities of the communities. Community government is now a function of a formally structured bureaucracy in which sentiment and interpersonal relations have relatively little value. Social life and entertainment are now consumer products rather than an integral part of community life and work. Service organizations, sports associations and commercial enterprises provide services of an organized and structured nature, and are integrated with the modern life-style and working patterns in the communities. These community structures are often parts of vast provincial and national organizations. The Church

is no longer the centre of life and activity in the communities. Reason has largely replaced faith as the guiding principle in individual decisions and actions.

These structural, functional and attitudinal changes have had serious effects on dependency relationships in the areas of local government, housing and Church activity. Using the framework of analysis provided in Chapter II, each of these three is now examined to determine what the effects have been. An examination is also made of the responsibility of the Catholic Church in these dependencies. A final consideration treats the limitations of a dependency perspective in helping to understand the changes since 1949.

Dependency Patterns in 1979

Changes in the area of community government have altered dependency patterns considerably. Widespread apathy among individual residents seems to indicate that political dependency still remains. It has merely been transferred from the central government and the priest to the local community council. The local governments rely heavily on the central governments for financial support in carrying out their programs. Due to such factors as isolation, size and socio-cultural background, these communities are unable to supply health, welfare, law enforcement and educational services for themselves, and are therefore dependent on the central governments.

The changes in housing indicate an increase in economic dependency, but at the same time a transfer of dependency on the socio-cultural level. Traditional censures against credit financing and

borrowing are being ignored, especially by younger people who have not experienced the restrictions of a subsistence economy. Also, whereas previously, the style and design of housing were largely determined by local practice, these are now determined to a great degree by advertising and promotional activities of building supply companies and other commercial enterprises.

The great restriction in the role and influence of the Catholic Church indicates a loss of power and control with a concomitant reduction of dependency relationships on the part of the people. Previously, such relationships were obvious in the political, socio-cultural, religious and psychological aspects of most outport activities. The priest was relied upon as community leader and spokesman. Social and leisure activities were determined and provided by the local parish, chiefly as a part of its fund raising effort. Even the adoption of trends and fashions was determined, to some extent, by the local priest. Educational opportunities were, to a large degree, also dependent on his interest and ability. There was a measure of material and economic reliance on the priest inasmuch as he sought out jobs for parishioners or enticed industry to set up locally. He was looked upon as defender of the community and of the rights of individual members. The basis of the people's dependence on the priest was a traditionally strong Catholic faith, reinforced by a lack of education and generations of parochialism. This helped to form a strong psychological reliance on the priest and local Church which manifested itself in almost every level of individual and communal activity.

Today there is no longer any political dependence on the local priest. This has been replaced partly by an attitude of self-reliance and partly by the development of local government and civic organizations. The adoption of new trends and fashions has no relation to the local Church. The Church no longer determines educational opportunities, and neither provides nor controls educational services. Even in the religious sphere, dependency on the Church and local priest is now quite limited. Older people are still prone to follow the directives and advice of the local priest, but such dependence is not found among the younger generation. A feeling of self-confidence among young and old alike has eradicated much of the psychological dependence on the priest. This is especially true where democratic principles have been integrated into Church structures and activities.

In parish matters, the traditional reliance of older (over age forty) people on the priest still remains, but not to the same degree nor always for the same motives. There are many older people who, because of a strong faith, still trust and rely implicitly on the Church and the priest. However, there are also many who have this reliance mainly because of ingrained patterns of upbringing and habitual activity. The very young (up to twelve years or so) have a degree of dependence on the Church inasmuch as they are still under the influence of the elementary Catholic school system. For the age group fifteen to forty ("younger crowd"), there no longer exists any dependence on the priest or Church in matters of religion. Generally speaking, in the five communities, this group seems to be not really

interested in parish or religious matters, and the priest has no power or influence over them.

In community matters, for all age groups, there is no longer dependence on the priest because of his position. There may be instances where older individuals still follow the priest blindly, but these would be the exception. In most cases today, any influence of the priest results from his proven ability and interest.

Responsibility of the Church in Dependency Patterns

Since the Second Vatican Council, the emphasis placed by the Catholic Church on the promotion of the principles of human dignity, social justice and lay participation should have provided force and direction to eradicate, or at least reduce, many of the dependency relationships in its structure and activities. An examination is now undertaken to determine what in fact, the Church has done in the five communities to promote human dignity in the loosening of dependency ties.

In the area of community government, the Church played an important role in changing dependency relationships. In three of the five communities, the Church, not as an institution, but through the efforts of individual priests, was involved in initiating the structure and process of local government. This led to a drastic reduction in dependency on the Church and on the central government.

In the area of housing change the Church had little involvement, and no appreciable impact on any dependency patterns.

Both as an institution and through individual priests, the

Church was also involved in establishing a democratic structure to replace the traditional autocratic operation of the Church in local school affairs. Although there are still exceptions, the result was a dramatic reduction in dependence on the priest in educational matters in each of the communities.

In the area of Church influence and activity, the Church as a diocese espoused and recommended the liberating principles of the Second Vatican Council as a means of reducing dependencies. There was, in fact, limited impact due to the ineffective means of implementing the principles. A practical means of promoting individual dignity and lessening dependency on the priest was offered through the structure of parish councils. Although this was adopted as a Diocesan policy in 1970, there were no effective directions or guidelines from the Bishop or Chancery to ensure its implementation. In the parishes where these structures do not exist, the Church is responsible for prolonging dependency ties even where the people no longer need or want them.

Three of the five communities have experienced lay participation through parish councils. In each case the initiative for, and development of, this participation was due to the individual priest concerned. In these instances the dependency of the parishioners on the priest has been largely replaced by a feeling of self-reliance.³²

The Church has not attempted to break down the dependency relationship which many people have felt because of their faith. This would be neither logical nor expected. Individual priests, however, have attempted to reduce the portion of the dependency structure that hinges on superstition, fear and a sense of the mysterious which for

many has been associated with the priesthood and religion.

The disruption of the dependency relationship between the Church and today's "younger crowd" has not been due to any positive action on the part of the Church, but is partly a result of ineffective ministry or neglect. To date, the Church, in all the communities, has not been able to deal effectively with the needs and aspirations of this segment of its membership. By default, the Church has destroyed this dependency, but in the process has failed to maintain effective contact with this group.

Apart from initiating the process, the Church was not involved in breaking down the dependency relationship the people had with the priest relative to community matters. The general pattern in the communities is that the local Church had a positive but unobtrusive influence in promoting self-reliance and independence in this area.

Limitations of a Dependency Perspective

The changes examined in the five communities cannot fully be explained by the use of a dependency perspective; nor will any other single approach provide a comprehensive picture. The relevance of this particular perspective to the study stems from my awareness of dependency relationships and their changing patterns as I worked to introduce various changes in the life of several of the communities.

There are many development approaches that could have been used in my analysis of the communities. Each of these would have provided a particular focus but would not have allowed for the inclusion of the range of historical, geographic, demographic, economic, political and socio-cultural components that have been involved in the change process.

I have not attempted to use the dependency perspective to explain the changes which have occurred in the three areas under study between 1949 and 1979, but rather have used this perspective to indicate some of the deeper implications for outport society.

FOOTNOTES

¹The elected council in Harbour Main failed to have a quorum at a general meeting in 1977 and the council was forced to resign. It was subsequently reinstated by the Department of Municipal Affairs but as an appointed body for the district encompassing Harbour Main, Lake View and Charles Cove.

²Of the war years Whalen (1974) writes:

The war years brought full employment rising prices and increased imports. Cash flowed through communities where it had previously been unknown, and the back of the antiquated credit or truck system was effectively broken. Centralization and urbanization began in earnest as people moved from small rural settlement to take advantage of the new opportunities for employment. The larger centres found themselves unable to cope with the problems which stemmed from their rapidly growing populations. (Whalen Report, 1974: 30)

³Council representatives in St. Brendan's, Melrose and Trepassey refer to the recognition offered by the media and by government. All official contacts with the community are through the council chairman or office. Although there is close contact between the local MHA and the council, the latter now makes the official request and contact to the various government departments in case of needed assistance. "The MHA sometimes may make the doors open more easily," but in all instances council representatives feel that they had open access and good contact with all levels of provincial bureaucracy.

⁴Although decisions were technically decisions of the school board, in these communities as in all Catholic outport parishes at the time, the board existed in name only. For example, in 1959 when I was appointed as Chairman of the St. Brendan's Board, I discovered that two of the Board members had been dead for quite some time. Meetings were rarely if ever held, and then usually in totally unplanned, unstructured manner, to inform the members of the decisions made.

⁵This grant was determined by the central government. In 1949, it involved \$2 for each two day's work (one day for pay, one day free) and was administered by the Local Roads Chairman. It was usually in the area of road grants that the local government member or MHA was closely involved with the community, since he was often responsible for arranging extra money for bridges, culverts or cribwork. In this sense, he too, could be considered as a part of the overall mechanism of community government.

⁶An exception is seen in the action taken by Father Maloney in Trepassey in the early 1950's in attempting to induce industry to locate in the community. Also several Harbour Main respondents refer to Father Dwyer's foresight and ability in "looking to the future of the entire community."

⁷True of all communities. In Buchans Junction the most active member of the recently formed Citizen's Committee for Water and Sewer is a woman--a past president of the Catholic Parish Council. In Melrose four of the five councillors are women.

⁸For example, on St. Brendan's I was aware of my lack of knowledge relative to medical matters. However, the expectations and the absolute confidence of the people in the priest, coupled with the fact that there was no other choice but to take some action, eventually gave me a sort of false confidence in my own ability. At this time (early 1960's) there was no way to leave the island once the ice moved in after Christmas, and no means of communicating with a doctor except by means of telegram. Most "medical" decisions had to be made on the spot without benefit of advice or consultation except when circumstances allowed the two days or so to hear back from a doctor. In any case, no doctor was willing to diagnose or prescribe from afar on scanty information, so this avenue of seeking advice was rarely used.

⁹My personal experience in initiating the Council in Melrose shows no active interest or involvement on the part of the local MHA. He was a Liberal however, and Melrose was strongly Progressive Conservative. On the other hand, both P. J. Lewis, MHA for Harbour Main and Myles Murray, MHA for Trepassey were both considered by respondents to have been "very closely involved" in setting up the respective Councils.

¹⁰In Trepassey, Joe Pennell, a resident of Daniel's Point, initiated a community council in the mid-1960's because of the need for a water system. According to respondents, the services provided in Daniel's Point acted as an encouragement to the residents of Trepassey proper, and they, mainly through the efforts of Father Maloney, John Devereaux and several others, brought about formation of the Local Improvement District Council in 1967, and Town status in 1969. In Harbour Main, the prime mover was a merchant, Joseph Moore, along with several other local leaders. The job here was made very difficult because, "Since the priest opposed the council, most of the people did also."

¹¹Of 276 houses in Harbour Main, 104 have been built since 1968; in St. Brendan's 6 of the 100 occupied houses were built since 1970; in Melrose 12 of the 78 homes have been built since 1975; in Buchans Junction 15 of the 58 houses have been built since 1963. I could not obtain new housing data for Trepassey, but of more than 300 houses there, many have been built along the highway (away from the centre of town) in the past several years. (Household figures are

from Statistics Canada, with new housing information from respondents from each community in January, 1979.)

¹²Trepassey has a number of houses owned by the Department of Transport and by Fishery Products which are rented to the workers at the Cape Race Loran Station, and to some of the "outside" workers at the fish plant. In both St. Brendan's and Harbour Main there are a small number of houses rented, as for example, to teachers who are not from the community.

¹³Several respondents refer to this. "The government is putting up Old People's Homes everywhere today. They are really encouraging us to ship our old people out away from the family. Years ago, grandparents were an important part of a family. We gained in many ways from having them with us. With the homes put up these days, old people are being 'built out' from the start."

¹⁴These incentives are provided by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, a Crown agency set up in 1945 to administer the National Housing Act (1944). Among the incentives provided are benefits under the Assisted Home Ownership Program (AHOP), the Assisted Rental Program, Rural and Native Housing, Non-Profit Housing and Approved Lender Loans for New and Existing Housing. There are also programs to assist in the field of Municipal Infrastructure (water, sewage, land assembly) and in the rehabilitation of housing units (Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programs--RRAP). Another funding channel is through the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP).
Source: 1977 Report of CMHC for Operations in Newfoundland and Labrador.

¹⁵In 1967, both the Department of Transport (DOT) and the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Commission (NLHC) constructed a number of houses in Trepassey. Although built in approximately the same area, the DOT houses are considered by all the respondents to be far superior in materials and construction to the NLHC or "fishery" houses. In the words of one respondent, "The fishery houses on the hill were built cheap so they could be rented cheaply to the then low-paid plant workers." (In 1962, plant workers received \$1 an hour; in 1979, they receive up to \$8. This information was supplied by the Plant Manager in January, 1979.)

¹⁶The resettlement threat of the 1950's halted any major renovations and all new construction. Although the future was still uncertain in the late 1960's, the resident priest at the time, Bill Shallow, pushed this new construction in the hope that it would encourage residents to maintain their homes and remain on the island if they wanted to.

¹⁷A distinction is made between parish and religious matters because many respondents indicate that even in the purely religious or spiritual realm the Church or priest today has not the same authority or influence as in the past. "I won't let the priest today decide for me about how many children I will have." One mature

woman who has always been heavily involved with the Church states, "It's not the same any more even with confession. Even ten years ago I'd run to confession with the smallest little thing. Now I don't feel the need to depend on the priest as much in this regard."

¹⁸ As one woman states, "In those days, even if the priest was wrong, he had to be right as far as the people were concerned." In relation to this point, J. R. Smallwood states, "In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. In outport Newfoundland (Catholic) communities the priest was king. He had the vision, the education, which he had received in Rome or Dublin."

¹⁹ Melrose respondents, including former council members, feel that, in a showdown, the priest could overcome the Council, but in Buchans Junction this fear was not expressed. There has been at least one unhappy experience in Melrose recently to reinforce their fear (the priest overruled the Council in a matter of finances), while the constitution of the Buchans Junction Council precludes such an overrule without automatic appeal to the bishop.

²⁰ J. R. Smallwood's previously cited comment that in outports the priest at that time "was king" applies, as he states, even more correctly to mundane or temporal matters. Respondents offer many explanations for this authority of the priest. Most respondents refer to "the faith." "Going against the priest was going against the faith. And if you did that you were up against the whole community." Others feel that it was "his education and ability" which gave him a lot of his authority. "We didn't know about anything in those days. We left it all up to the priest. He knew better than we did." Several respondents feel that it was the priest as an ordained minister or in his position as parish priest that commended the authority. Many others, especially in Harbour Main, in reference to Father Dwyer, emphasize that "The priest's authority was guaranteed by his position, but his influence depended on his ability and personality." Examples of this were provided in contrasting the influence held by Father Dwyer in relation to Father Howard and Father Kavanagh in Avondale.

²¹ In an interview with J. R. Smallwood, January, 1979, he confirmed the respect he "had always held" for the influence of any minister of religion in a Newfoundland outport.

²² An example offered was that of Father Howard and his public stand against Confederation in 1949 in which he identified the Liberals as Orangemen. "From that day the people here in Melrose have always voted over 95% Progressive Conservative." (Note: Father Howard was parish priest of Bonavista parish before moving to Harbour Main in 1950.)

²³ The clearest example of this is in Harbour Main. Father Dwyer (parish priest from the 1930's to 1950) is considered by all respondents to have been responsible for a "... wonderful sense of

pride and initiative in this community. He was a very able administrator, and was extremely interested in the good of this community." He was contrasted by several respondents with other less capable priests who were considered as being responsible for parishes and communities "falling to ruin."

²⁴ Buchans Junction is the exception to the trend to diminished influence in the community. Respondents there feel that the priest and the Church are now looked upon with more respect than in the past. The recent interest and involvement in Buchans Junction by Sister Lois Greene and myself are considered to be the main reason for the change. This involvement concerned the establishment and development of a strong parish council.

²⁵ Most respondents consider this "mixing" as a good thing, but feel that it has the potential to lessen the priest's influence because, "He can now be seen as an ordinary man with the same faults as all of us. If I can be on equal grounds with the priest in a Lion's club or council meeting, I find it hard to put him on a pedestal the next day in the matter of parish or religion."

²⁶ Examples given by many respondents range from strong views relative to parish administration methods, to stands on various aspects of Church policy and legislation. Most older respondents are critical of many of the "narrow-minded" Church policies, especially with respect to relations with non-Catholics. Many express some degree of embarrassment that they had "gone along with so much of it" for so long.

²⁷ Melrose high school students attend public high schools in Catalina, and are influenced by the attitudes of friends, as one respondent put it, "with no strong tradition of Church going." The continuous intermingling of Melrose workers at the fish plant in Port Union is also offered by several respondents as contributing to a more critical and objective assessment of the priest's authority and influence. Trepassey respondents feel that the influx of so many non-Catholics into the parish during the past decade has tended to lessen the priest's authority and influence even in parish matters. "They see no reason to 'cow-tow' to the priest, and look to him for anything, and they won't hesitate to let him know how they feel. This has had an effect on a lot of people."

²⁸ Examples given include: unwillingness of the priest to encourage or allow lay participation, especially in relation to parish council formation; unwillingness or inability to consider "young people" as an integral part of today's Church; and unwillingness or inability to assume a broader, more realistic view of modern society.

²⁹ One Melrose respondent states, "The priests are changed so often now we don't feel we know them, and they can't really know us either. It's not the same confidence that there used to be." On the

other hand, several Trepassey respondents feel that the long tenure of Father Maloney in the parish (1949-1979) has been a factor in his loss of influence. "He did an awful lot for this parish and community, God knows. But now I think he should retire. It's a different kind of ball-game now."

³⁰ All respondents consider that community affairs are being handled more effectively now than 30 years ago, and that much more is being done by the councils than could be done under the old system. St. Brendan's respondents in particular, contrast the very limited role of the priest there today with the past when "We had no one to look to but the priest. We depended on him for everything. Now, all we have to do is pick up the 'phone and call the doctor or the police."

³¹ For example, the Lion's Club and the Town Council in Trepassey include in their membership residents who are not Catholic, and have no reason to hold allegiance to the priest. "This has fostered more objective and open-minded thinking and less reliance on what the priest thinks."

³² The degree varies with each council, depending on their level of maturity and the degree to which they have real authority and responsibility. In St. Brendan's, having once experienced self-reliance with an effective parish council, the parishioners are resentful over once again being subjected to domination by the priest in all parish matters.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

The general focus of this study has been an investigation of certain changes that have taken place since 1949 in five Newfoundland communities. The areas of change were: community government, housing and the role and influence of the Catholic Church. The investigation included the nature of the changes and the causes and processes involved.

The study was intended to determine whether and how the above changes altered the dependency relationships between individuals, communities and institutions existing in 1949. A prominent focus was the part played by the Catholic Church in the changes and in the altering of the dependency patterns.

To obtain data necessary for this investigation, an informal interview schedule was devised, and personal interviews were conducted in the five communities during the winter of 1978-79. On the basis of key social roles, six leaders in each community were interviewed in detail, and at least as many other residents were interviewed on the major points. In addition, Catholic Church officials and others knowledgeable about outport Newfoundland were interviewed in depth.

The data were compiled in a case study for each community, and a comparison made of the changes which had occurred since 1949 in the areas of community government, housing and the role and influence

of the Catholic Church. These changes were then interpreted using the perspective of dependency.

From the data and information compiled, it appears that what has happened to dependency relationships in the five communities has come about because of changes in the following areas: within society generally; within the institutions involved; and in the individuals who live in the communities.

Recent history has witnessed the emergence of a global society as a result of tremendous technological and scientific advances, especially in the areas of communication, transportation, industry, and medicine. Especially since Confederation in 1949, this technological age has affected outport Newfoundland. Moreover, and due largely to modern technology, the general gesellschaft trend of society to secularization and bureaucratization has impacted rural Newfoundland with new attitudes and values in a relatively short period of time.

In addition, since 1949 major changes have occurred in the institutions to which the communities and individuals relate. Newfoundland itself has become part of a bigger system: the Canadian nation. An informal, unstructured community government process has been replaced by an official, structured form of local representative government. The outport economy has been re-organized and diversified with dependence being transferred from the local merchant to distant and impersonal multi-national companies and government agencies. The educational system has been re-organized with emphasis on bureaucratization and democracy. It too, has become a formal, more impersonal institution, heavily intermeshed with broad provincial and national

networks. The Catholic Church, traditionally the strongest of all the institutions relating to the five communities, has itself been subjected to modifications in its structure and functions.

The third major factor which has affected dependency relationships in the five communities is the people involved, as they have attempted to adjust to the abovementioned changes. Along with modern services, greater educational and work opportunities, an improved economy, modern communications and transportation, have come more knowledge, higher aspirations, new roles and status within the community and society, greater confidence and an increasing desire for self-determination.

Moving from the general to the specific, the investigation identified a number of factors pertaining to dependency patterns in the three areas of interest.

Having made an analysis of the findings from the point of view of dependency, there are a number of conclusions pertaining to dependency patterns in the three areas of interest.

In the area of community government, there has been a general decrease in the dependence on the local Church. While the process of representative democracy allows for some degree of self-determination, widespread apathy indicates that this means of self-reliance is little appreciated. In view of this, it appears that the dependence on the local Church has merely been transferred to the local community council. There is still a great deal of control exercised over the local councils by the central governments. This occurs, not just from apathy, but because of the heavy financial support expected of, and

received from, the provincial and federal governments. In spite of local government structures, some communities still have a justifiable feeling of powerlessness and helplessness relative to the central governments and industry.

The scope of local government activity is too narrow. The prime emphasis is on provision of needed services, but insufficient attention is paid to long-range planning and overall goals and values. Although most councils are well accepted, many people still consider them as just another bureaucratic level of government, rather than a means of local self-determination and self-help.

In the area of housing, visible and dramatic changes are indicative of an attitudinal change, and a greatly modified and improved economy. The traditional self-reliance in home construction and financing has been replaced by a general dependence on government, commercial enterprise and specialists, for financing, materials and ideas. It appears that the spirit of local familial and co-operative effort in home construction has largely been lost or ignored. There should be more concern by government and housing authorities that designs and materials used in construction are the most suitable for Newfoundland conditions.

In the area of Church role and influence, dependence on the Church has been greatly reduced in all areas of interest. The Catholic Church is not the dominant force in these communities it was thirty years ago. Many Church structures are no longer appropriate or relevant to accommodate the needs and aspirations of today's society. Still too much autocracy and paternalism is present in the

structure and function of the local Church institution, which becomes obvious when contrasted with the structures of local government and civic organizations now functioning in most communities. Having become accustomed to some measure of democracy and self-determination through these latter institutions, people expect the same in the local Church. The Second Vatican Council principles of individual dignity, self-determination and participation have not been effectively implemented at the local levels of parish and diocese.

While dependence on the Church has been reduced, it has not been due to Church policy, but a result of the impact of broad social change on individual priests who have made appropriate adjustments in the style and content of their ministry. The role and function of the Church as an institution in the five communities is now largely limited to the religious and spiritual sphere; most of the other functions it once carried out are now being performed by agencies specifically designed for those tasks. The spirit of secularization and the relative confusion and uncertainty about a number of Church issues has greatly reduced dependence on the Church, even in matters of religion. This is especially true for people under the age of forty.

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

In the Area of Local Government

A number of suggestions aimed at creating greater self-reliance and confidence appears obvious.

1) Common to all local governments in the communities studied was the residents' apathy and lack of interest. Since local council members are unpaid volunteers, little input is demanded from the community other than the time and effort of those actually involved. Some system of remuneration for councillors should be considered as one means of creating greater interest on the part of local residents.

2) In this regard as well, the lack of fiscal responsibility and belief that the central government will eventually cover council expenditures, has militated against real interest and involvement on the part of many individuals. A history of government benevolence in this regard, in return for election votes, has fostered a mentality that perpetuates dependency. True fiscal responsibility will be achieved to the degree that local councils have the ability to raise more of their operating and capital budgets through local taxes. As long as the responsibility of elected councillors is limited to administering mainly externally provided funds, lack of interest will remain a serious problem. Regulations and programs are needed to promote fiscal responsibility for these local councils, and this, in turn, necessitates a need for training programs for employees and councillors alike. This is a responsibility that could well be assumed by the Federation of Municipalities in conjunction with existing educational agencies.

3) In the process of transfer of political dependency from Church and central government to the local council, a lack of understanding of the nature and purpose of local government is apparent. This points out the need for expanded educational programs providing

information on the nature, purpose, potential and administration of local government. I see this as a responsibility of the Adult and Continuing Education Division of the Department of Education and of Memorial University Extension Service.

4) Lack of long-range planning by local governments further accentuates the need of training programs for both councillors and employees. It reinforces the need for less restrictive control by central government once the educational programs have been effected. It also accentuates the need of financial help for local governments allowing them to hire qualified professional planners. In this regard, at least in the initial stages, there is need of a co-ordinating effort from the Federation of Municipalities and of more support from other levels of government.

In the Area of Housing

The changes in housing over the past thirty years indicate several areas in which there is room for further local input and self-reliance. Decline in the traditional practice of family and neighbour involvement in home building is no doubt partly due to the different life-style and working schedules of most people.

1) Because of this traditional practice, greater emphasis by federal and provincial housing authorities should be placed on co-operative housing programs.

2) Also, housing regulations and financing prerequisites should have more flexibility to allow greater use of personal labour and materials in private construction.

3) Because ill-suited materials and designs for housing are sometimes marketed by commercial enterprises, there should be greater emphasis on consumer education by the appropriate educational authorities, and more research and testing for appropriate house designs.

In the Area of Catholic Church Activity

In this area, there are a number of implications and suggestions aimed at helping the Catholic Church more effectively promote authentic development of a liberative type, while at the same time strengthening its own position as an institution in society. It is obvious from the findings that, at least in the five communities, Church programs and activities are not relevant to present day needs. Too many people, both lay and cleric, still consider the traditional parish structure and programs as the only legitimate vehicle of Church service. As indicated in the research data, however, much of outport society does not find the Church relevant or responsive to contemporary needs. This is not to say that modern outport society has rejected religion, but rather that today's spiritual needs are different from those of the past. The Church is attempting to meet today's needs with yesterday's programs. Measures to correct this failing were taken by the Second Vatican Council, but, at least in the five subject communities, these measures have had relatively little effect. The main implication here has to do with parish councils and the reasons they have not been established. As a measure of helping the Church become more relevant to modern society, the Second Vatican Council provided direction for the establishment of participatory structures at the local parish and

diocesan levels. These structures (parish and pastoral councils) have proven effective elsewhere, but the educational process involved is long and demanding.

1) Parish councils. In this regard there should be a strong diocesan policy promoting parish councils in each parish. This policy, to be effective, presupposes an effective educational program for priests, religious and lay people in the areas of participation, and team-ministry. Parish councils offer one very effective avenue of personal growth and development for individuals engaged in Church activity. In the absence of councils, some parishes and parishioners will remain subject to the whims and dictates of individual personalities. In such cases, not only is the Church as an institution weakened, but more importantly, the faith and confidence of individual parishioners is eroded.

2) Seminary training. Because of the potential influence of priests on individuals with whom they interact, it is important that the seminary training of future priests be relevant and appropriate to contemporary needs. This study and training must prepare priests to function in a society in which the Church is not the centre of life and activity it was traditionally. It must encourage the promotion of Church structures and programs fostering democratic participation and growth of its members. Such training must aim at providing leaders in the area of religion and spiritual values, capable of recognizing the spiritual needs of contemporary society and of offering a meaningful response.

3) Continuing Education. Since the point of Interface of

Church and people is the local priest, no Church policy or teaching can be effective unless he is willing and capable of implementing it. Consequently, there is absolute need of a continuing education program for priests working in the diocese. This implies the strengthening of, and adherence to, a strong diocesan policy on continuing education. Such updating of education should be mandatory. It should involve a flexibility of programs with each priest having to spend at least six months of every six years in further study. This could be by way of sabbaticals, locally provided courses, seminars or workshops, transfer arrangements with other parishes or dioceses, and correspondence courses.

4) Updating of parishioners. Another area in which the Church may further authentic development and reduce dependency is in the educational "updating" of parishioners. There have been so many changes in Church regulations, teachings and ritual since the Second Vatican Council that there is much confusion and uncertainty on the part of many people. The Sunday homily is incapable of dispelling this confusion. There must be supplementary educational programs offered on a diocese-wide basis available to each parish. A significant attempt along this line was made several years ago with the "Gift Series" study program although it did not get universal clergy support and was soon abandoned. There is need of a qualified team, sponsored by the diocese, operating on a full-time basis which could provide seminars and workshops on a parochial or regional basis. The core of such a team already exists in some of the religious, clergy and lay people who have been actively involved in authentic parish councils

or other educational programs. I consider this work to be a special ministry needed at this time in the Diocese of Grand Falls.

5) Communications. It is essential that some effective procedure be established to allow Church members to express their needs and aspirations, and to have meaningful input into decisions and policies affecting them. To remain passive and uninvolved relative to such issues is degrading and demoralizing and militates against personal growth and development. On the parish level, the parish council structure offers an avenue of personal growth. On the diocesan level, an avenue of communication exists, theoretically at least, in the pastoral council. However, this structure cannot exist or function fully unless all parishes are represented through their parish councils. The present Pastoral Meeting held each year in the Diocese of Grand Falls is not a permanently constituted body. Its membership consists of the clergy, invited religious and lay delegates who are usually selected by the clergy. It does not involve, for the most part, elected representatives, and it has functioned to date in a consultative capacity relative to issues largely determined by the Bishop and the priests. While in fact the present Pastoral Meetings are responsible for policy formation to some degree, this could be much more effective and conducive to personal growth of parishioners if the proper local mechanism of parish councils were available to allow detailed discussion, input and feedback.

6) Diocesan priorities. Having concluded that individual effort rather than effective Church policy has been the main thrust in reducing dependency, it follows that an establishment of realistic

diocesan priorities is necessary along with practical means to promote their realization.

7) Church relevance to all age groups. The gap between the Church and young people is not peculiar to the five parishes involved. It reflects a widespread malaise for which no effective corrective measures have, as yet, been provided. However, many youth programs are being attempted in other dioceses with varying degrees of success. More innovation, experimentation and variation in ministry is required in the hope of narrowing this serious gap. There is much potential presently untapped among Church members, both the young and the elderly, who could be involved in many meaningful and relevant forms of service and ministry.

8) Church language. In common with most Christian Churches, the language of the Roman Catholic Church often appears to be literally directed to men only, in exclusion of women. Although the general understanding includes women, the appearance in many cases is sexist, and is increasingly offensive to many. An example is seen in the opening message of the Second Vatican Council when referring to the presentation of God's truth to "the men of this age" (Abbott, 1966: 3-4). Efforts should be made to bring official Church language more in line with contemporary attitudes and thinking. In this regard, I feel that some study could also be given to the traditional use of certain Church titles which denote varying degrees of dependency.

9) Universal Church issues. As well as the above implications relating specifically to the parishes of Grand Falls Diocese, there are other areas of Church policy, teaching and structure on the

universal level that relate to authentic growth and development of Church members in all parishes and dioceses. Those most relevant to the issue of human growth and development will now be briefly considered.

a) Input of Church members into decisions affecting them: The present system generally in effect throughout the Catholic Church, for example, allows no input from the parishioners into the appointment of priests who are to serve them. The significant advantage here is that the priest is free to do his work without pressure or fear of recrimination from parishioners; he can only be removed from the parish by the bishop. However, this advantage must be weighed against the negative psychological effects for many people who may see themselves pressured or forced to accept the services of a priest who is generally unacceptable to the community. This is not a serious factor in large parishes with more than one priest, but it is a significant factor in small outport parishes such as were the subjects of this study. Authentic development and maturation of human personality demands mature treatment and involvement in all areas of human activity, especially in the area of religion.

b) Evaluation of clergy: At the present time there is no evaluation process for either priests or bishops. Once ordained or appointed, there is virtually a permanent tenure. Not only should there be a process of evaluation, but an essential component should be a meaningful input and assessment from parishioners who are being served.

c) Celibacy of the clergy: Although the Church has decided that celibacy remain a condition for ordination to the priesthood, I feel that this decision bears further consideration. A great percentage of adult Catholics favour mandatory celibacy for priests. However, the motivation is sometimes suspect. It seems to be an expression of the sociological mores of traditionally Catholic societies, and often has little to do with reason or theological principles. While some are motivated to this stand by the legitimate benefits of having a celibate clergy (especially that of greater freedom to give total service), there are others among the laity who use the celibacy of the clergy as a means of masking their own insecurity. I feel that much more open and rational thinking and discussion is needed on this issue. The essence of the ordained priesthood is not the condition of celibacy, but rather a divine calling to serve others. There are those who consider mandatory celibacy to inhibit total personal development. There are many who claim that the benefits of optional celibacy would outweigh the practical disadvantages, and that better and more relevant service would result if marriage were an option. The practical disadvantages usually mentioned include the following: that married priests would not be "totally available" to serve parishioners--the key assumption here being that celibacy assures total availability; that married clergy would necessitate financial burdens that many parishes could not bear; that married clergy and families would create serious problems in the physical structure of parishes and rectories. Although these are merely logistic and

administrative problems, there is no way at present to evaluate the above claim except perhaps to witness the service being provided by the clergy of other Churches in which celibacy is not mandatory. Celibacy can also be a base of security for individual priests. It is a very challenging and difficult sacrifice for most who choose it, and can be a measure of deep spiritual and personal development. It can only be authentic if based on a solid spirituality. For others it can become a demeaning and dehumanizing experience which inhibits their personal growth and acts as a barrier to the promotion of growth in others. This should remain an open issue for rational consideration.

d) Ordination of women: Another area of Church policy relating to personality growth and development is that of the exclusion of women from the ordained ministry. There are many sincere, dedicated female Church members who consider they have a vocation to the priesthood or to the diaconate. At least for them, personal growth is constrained by this particular Church policy. I am unaware of all the ramifications and implications involved here, but feel that this question should also remain open. A vocation to the ordained ministry is a divine gift dispensed as God wills, and should not be thwarted by the values and mores of any particular culture or age.

e) Family planning: Although rational family planning has long been a Church policy, it is essential that along with the policy there be realistic means of achieving it without damage to individual conscience and personality. Much progress

has been made in this area by Church-sponsored Family Life agencies, but much yet needs to be done by way of educating people in this area. Many priests are confused in the matter of family planning, and are unable to offer meaningful counsel in this very important area of their ministry. Continued emphasis and effort is needed in this area on the theological as well as practical level.

f) Marriage: Church teaching and policy regarding marriage is yet another area very related to the promotion or retardation of personal development. In view of the tremendous number of broken or unhappy marriages today, it seems inhumane and hypocritical to require people to remain in a marriage that is totally devoid of love and happiness. Being forced to remain married often is dehumanizing for the husband and wife, and psychologically destructive for the children. Separation with no possibility of remarriage within the Church is not a realistic alternative for many Catholics. I am not sure that the answer is in easy divorce or annulment. I am merely stating a serious concern for the area of human growth of Church members. There must be continued exploration into the problems of marriage breakdown with emphasis on determining practical means of prevention and assistance.

Since the role of the Church today is becoming more and more limited to the spiritual and religious sphere, it seems to follow that more intensive and comprehensive programs and activities in this area are necessary. There must be new approaches, new techniques and new

forms of ministry involving various kinds of Church members so as to enable the Church to more effectively appraise and minister to the spiritual needs of an ever changing society.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

This study was undertaken as a means of appraising a personal conviction that in the traditionally Church-dominated society of rural Newfoundland, contemporary Catholic Church activity and structure have been largely ineffective in the reduction of dependency and in the promotion of authentic human development.

In making this appraisal, I limited my focus to three areas of activity in five outport communities: the areas of local government, housing and the role and influence of the Catholic Church.

The specific goals in making this appraisal have been achieved. I have related the changes that have occurred to patterns of dependency. I have made an assessment of the Catholic Church's role in dependency reduction. And I have made suggestions which could lead to further dependency reduction.

Although the major dependencies in the three interest areas have been discussed, my treatment of the material has, of necessity, been quite superficial. There are many causes of dependency, some of which have only been alluded to in this study. Among these are such factors as: a tradition of seasonal employment with the winter months relatively inactive; a history of patronage in the political system; a history of paternalistic domination by the Catholic Church; and a history and tradition of economic dependency associated with a weak

fishing industry and a demeaning economic system. As well, we may note such contemporary factors as: the effects of a welfare system that has often been accused of stifling initiative and fostering dependency; a widespread apathy and disinterest in community affairs; the extensive promotion and sale of credit which has left so many people dependent on finance companies and lending institutions; an addiction to consumerism promoted by the mass media and advertising; and the effects of external domination and control of the economy and industry.

If the institutions established to promote human growth and development are to be more effective in achieving their objectives, there is need of further study and investigation into the above factors which are so related to the attitude and condition of dependency.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. BOOKS

- Abbott, W. M. (Ed.). The Documents of Vatican II. New York: Guild Press, 1966.
- Abrecht, Paul. The Churches and Rapid Social Change. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961.
- Allston, J. T. Town and Country Planning Comes to Newfoundland. In J. R. Smallwood (Ed.), The Book of Newfoundland, Vol. 4, St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers (1967) Ltd., 1967.
- Archibald, Bruce. Atlantic Regional Underdevelopment and Socialism. In Essays on the Left. Essays in honor of T. C. Douglas, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971.
- Baran, Paul and Paul Sweezy. Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966.
- Barnard, Jessie. The Sociology of Community. London: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1973.
- Barre, Raymond. Le developpement economique: Analyse et politique. Paris: Cahiers de l'Institute de Science Economique Appliquee, 1958.
- Berger, Peter. The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969.
- Bernstein, Henry (Ed.). Underdevelopment and Development. The Third World Today. Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books, 1973.
- Biddle, W. W. and L. J. Biddle. The Community Development Process. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.
- Brox, Ottar. Newfoundland Fishermen in an Age of Industry: a Sociology of Economic Dualism. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 9, second edition, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1972.
- Callahan, Daniel. The Secular City Debate. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966.
- Camara, Dom Helder. Church and Colonialism: The Betrayal of the Third World. Translated by William McSweeney, Denville, New Jersey: Dimension Books, 1969.

- Chiaromonte, L. J. Craftsman-Client Contracts: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Fishing Community. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1970.
- Cohen, Anthony P. The Management of Myths. The politics of legitimation in Newfoundland community. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, 14, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1975.
- Cohen, B. J. The Question of Imperialism: The Political Economy of Dominance and Dependence. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- Copes, Parzival. The Resettlement of Fishing Communities in Newfoundland, Canadian Council on Rural Development, Ottawa: 1972.
- Cockroft, J. D., A. G. Frank and D. L. Johnson. Dependence and Underdevelopment: Latin America's Political Economy. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1972.
- Cox, Harvey. The Secular City. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965.
- _____. (Ed.). The Church Amid Revolution. New York: Association Press, 1967.
- Crysdale, S. The Changing Church in Canada: Beliefs and Social Attitudes of United Church People, Toronto: Board of Evangelicalism and Social Service, United Church of Canada, 1965.
- Davis, A. K. Canadian Society and History as Hinterland versus Metropolis. In Richard Assenberg (Ed.), Canadian Society. Toronto: Prentice Hall, 1971.
- DeWitt, R. L. Public Policy and Community Protest: The Fogo Case. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, 8, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1969.
- _____. Religious Pluralism and Social Structure: a study of three communities. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1970.
- Dolphin, Lambert. The Church is Alive. Westchester, Illinois: Good News Publishers, 1971.

- Dos Santos, Theotino. The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependence in Latin America. In Henry Bernstein (Ed.), Underdevelopment and Development. Penguin Books, 1976.
- Eggleston, Wilfred. Newfoundland: The Road to Confederation. Information Canada, Ottawa: 1974.
- Faris, J. C. Cat Harbour: a Newfoundland Fishing Settlement. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, 3, second edition, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1972.
- Fearn, G. F. N. Canadian Social Organization. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1973.
- Firestone, Melvin. Brothers and Rivals: Patrilocality in Savage Cove, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1967.
- Flannery, A. P. (Ed.). The Documents of Vatican II. New York: Pillar Books, 1975.
- Flynn, T. J. The Roman Catholic Church in Newfoundland. In J. R. Smallwood (Ed.), The Book of Newfoundland, Vol. 2, St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1937b.
- Foster, G. M. Traditional Societies and Technological Change. 2nd Edition. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1973.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967.
- _____. Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969.
- Fremantle, Anne (Ed.). The Social Teachings of the Church. A Mentor-Omega Book. Toronto: Published by The New American Library of Canada Ltd., 1963.
- Friere, Paulo. Pedagogy of the Oppressed. New York: The Seabury Press, 1968.
- _____. Education for Critical Consciousness. New York: The Seabury Press, 1973B.
- Furtado, C. Development and Underdevelopment. University of California Press: 1964.
- _____. Economic Development of Latin America. 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

- Galbraith, J. K. The Underdeveloped Country. The Massey lectures, 5th series. Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1965.
- Goulet, Denis. The Cruel Choice. New York: Atheneum, 1967.
- _____. A New Moral Order. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1974.
- Green, H. G. Don't Have Your Baby in the Dory. Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.
- Guerry, Emile. The Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church. New York: Alba House, 1964.
- Gutierrez, Gustavo. A Theology of Liberation. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1973.
- Guy, Ray. You May Know Them as Sea Urchins, Ma'am. Portugal Cove, Newfoundland: Breakwater Books, 1975.
- Gwynn, Richard. Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary. Montreal: McLelland Stewart, 1968.
- Haggstrom, Warren. Power of the Poor. In Chaim Waxman (Ed.), Poverty: Power and Politics. New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1968.
- Harbison, F. H. and C. A. Meyers. Education, Manpower and Economic Growth. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964.
- Harris, Leslie. Newfoundland and Labrador--a brief history. J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1968.
- Horwood, Harold. Newfoundland and Confederation, 1948-9. In M. Wade (Ed.), Regionalism in the Canadian Community, 1867-1967. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.
- Houtart, F. and A. Deloebelle. The Roman Catholic Church and Economic Planning--at the National and International Level. In Harvey Cox (Ed.), The Church Amid Revolution. New York: Association Press, 1967.
- Howley, Rev. M. Ecclesiastical History of Newfoundland. Boston: Doyle and Whittle, 1888.
- Hutchings, Wesley. The Growth of Newfoundland's Population. In J. R. Smallwood (Ed.), The Book of Newfoundland, Vol. 3. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967.
- Innis, Harold A. The Fur Trade in Canada. [First edition, 1930] Revised edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- _____. The Cod Fisheries. [First edition, 1940] Revised edition. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

- Iverson, Noel and Ralph D. Matthews. Communities in Decline: An Examination of Household Resettlement in Newfoundland. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1968.
- Jaguaribe, Helio. Economic and Political Development: A Theoretical Approach and a Brazilian Case Study. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Kosik, Karel. Dialectica de lo concreto. Mexico D. F.: Grizalbo, 1963.
- Kostaszek, L. W. The Cost of Home Construction and Housing in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Report of the Commission of Enquiry. Volume 1, St. John's: 1969. (Kostaszek Report)
- Laidlaw, A. E. (Ed.). The Man From Margaree. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971.
- Lane, C. M., Centralizing our Population. In J. R. Smallwood (Ed.), The Book of Newfoundland, Vol. 3., St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1967.
- Larson, Bruce and Ralph Bharne. The Emerging Church. Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1970.
- Laxer, R. (Ed.). (Canada) Ltd. The Political Economy of Dependency. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973.
- Lé Bret, L. J. Dynamique concrete du developpement. Paris: Les Editions Ouvrieres, 1967.
- Lefebvre, Henri. Dialectical Materialism. Translated by John Sturrock. London: Johanathan Cape, 1968.
- Lipset, S. M. (Ed.). Politics and the Social Sciences. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Loomis, Charles P. and J. Allen Beegle. Rural Social Systems. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc.; 1950.
- Lovell, George. The Church and Community Development. An Introduction. Middlesex, England: Grail Publications, 1972.
- Mariategui, J. C. Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1971.
- Matthews, Ralph D. Communities in Transition: an examination of government initiated community migration in rural Newfoundland. University of Minnesota, [Minneapolis, Minn.]: 1969.

- Matthews, Ralph D. "There's No Better Place Than Here." Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1976.
- McCullum, Hugh and Carmel McCullum. The Churches. This Land is Not for Sale. Anglican Book Centre: 1975.
- Miller, N. and R. Ayr. National Liberation. Revolution in the Third World. New York: Free Press, 1971
- Mowatt, Farley and John deVisser. This Rock Within the Sea: A Heritage Lost. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968.
- Murray, Jean. The Newfoundland Journal of Aaron Thomas. Don Mills, Ontario: Longman's Canada Ltd., 1968.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions. London: Duckworth, 1957.
- Naylor, R. T. The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914. 2 Vol. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, Publishers, 1975.
- Neary, Peter (Ed.). The Political Economy of Newfoundland, 1929-1972. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1973.
- Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour. "Now that we've burned our boats . . ." The Report of the People's Commission on Unemployment in Newfoundland and Labrador. Commissioned and published by: Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour. Printed by Mutual Press Ltd., Ottawa: 1978. (McGrath Report)
- Oldford, W. Fishery and Settlement at Bonavista Bay from 1731-1836. Research of the Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1974.
- O'Neill, Paul. A Seaport Legacy. The story of St. John's, Newfoundland. Erin, Ontario: Press Porcepic, 1976.
- Paine, Robert (Ed.). Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, 2, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1971.
- Pedley, C. The History of Newfoundland. London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863.
- Penny, Alfred R. The Newfoundland Railway: Newfoundland Epic. In J. R. Smallwood (Ed.), The Book of Newfoundland, Vol 3, St. John's, Newfoundland: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1967.

- Perlin, A. B. The Story of Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland: Guardian Publishing, 1959.
- Perlin, George. Patronage and Paternalism: Politics in Newfoundland. In D. Davies and K. Herman (Eds.), Social Space: Canadian Perspectives. Toronto: New Press, 1971.
- Perroux, Francois. The Economy of the Twentieth Century. 2nd Edition. Paris: University Press of France, 1964.
- Philbrook, Thomas. Fisherman, Logger, Merchant, Miner: Social Change and Industrialism in Three Newfoundland Communities. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland: 1966.
- Prowse, D. W. A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records. London: Macmillan and Company, 1895.
- Rahner, Karl. The Church After The Council. New York: Herder and Herder, 1966.
- Rhodes, R. I. (Ed.). Imperialism and Underdevelopment: a Reader. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970.
- Roach, J. L. Sociological Analysis and Poverty. In W. E. Mann, Poverty and Social Policy in Canada. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1970.
- Rostow, W. W. The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1960.
- Rothney, G. O. Newfoundland--A History. Ottawa, Canada: The Canadian Historical Association, 1973.
- Rowe, F. W. The Development of Education in Newfoundland. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1964.
- _____. Education and Culture in Newfoundland. Scarborough, Ontario: McGraw Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1976.
- Ryan, W. F. The Clergy and Economic Growth in Quebec, (1896-1914). Quebec: Les Presses de l'Universite Laval, 1966.
- Satin, Mark. New Age Politics. West Vancouver, B.C.: Whitecap Books, 1978.
- Schaeffer, Francis A. The Church at the End of the Twentieth Century. Downer's Grove, Illinois: Inter Varsity Press, 1970.
- Schaller, L. E. Community Organization: Conflict and Reconciliation. New York: Abingdon Press, 1966.

- Schillebeeckx, E. Vatican II: the real achievement. London: Sheed and Ward, 1967.
- Schramm, Wilbur. Mass Media and National Development. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1964.
- Segundo, J. L. The Liberation of Theology. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1967.
- Skolnik, M. Resettlement in Newfoundland: Some Economic Comments. In M. Skolnik (Ed.), Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers, 1, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1968.
- Smallwood, J. R. (Ed.) The Book of Newfoundland, Vol 1. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1937a.
- _____. The Book of Newfoundland, Vol 2. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1937b.
- _____. The Book of Newfoundland, 4 Vols. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1967.
- _____. I Chose Canada. Toronto: Macmillan, 1973.
- Stanley, Eugene. The Future of Underdeveloped Countries. Revised edition. New York: Harper, 1961.
- Story, G. M. Newfoundland: Fishermen, Hunters, Planters and Merchants. In M. A. Sterns (Ed.), Perspectives on Newfoundland Society and Culture. Book of Readings. Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1974.
- Struik, D. J. (Ed.). Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. Translated by Martin Milligan. New York: International Publishers, 1964.
- Stuber, Stanley I. and Claud D. Nelson. Implementing Vatican II in Your Community. New York: Guild Press, 1967.
- Szwed, J. Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, 2, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1966.
- Teeple, Gary (Ed.). Capitalism and the National Question in Canada. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

- Thomas, M. D. Growth Pole Theory: An Examination of Some of its Basic Concepts. In N. M. Hansen (Ed.), Growth Centres in Regional Economic Development. New York: Free Press, 1972
- Thoms, J. R. The Framework of Our History. In J. R. Smallwood (Ed.), The Book of Newfoundland, Vol. 3. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1967.
- Wadel, Cato. Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1969.
- _____. Now, Whose Fault is That? The Struggle for Self-esteem in the Face of Chronic Unemployment. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1973.
- Ward, Barbara. The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations. New York: W. W. Norton, 1962.
- Warren, P. J. Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth. Vol. 1, Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, St. John's: 1967. (Warren Report)
- Watkins, Melville. Resources and Underdevelopment. In R. Laxer (Ed.), (Canada) Ltd. The Political Economy of Dependency. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1973.
- Watkins, Melville (Ed.). Dene Nation, The Colony Within. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- Wells, Robert. Report on Resettlement in Newfoundland. Government of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1960.
- Whalen, H. J. Report of the Royal Commission on Municipal Government in Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's: 1974. (Whalen Report)

II. ARTICLES, PAPERS, PAMPHLETS AND UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

- Alexander, David G. A New Newfoundland: The Traditional Economy and Development to 1934. (Maritime History Group, Memorial University of Newfoundland). A paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, Kingston, Ontario: June, 1973.
- _____. "The Economic History of a Country and a Province," The Canadian Forum (March, 1974), pp. 12-13.
- _____. "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland, 1880-1970," Acadiensis, Vol. 4 (Autumn, 1974), pp. 3-31.
- _____. "The Political Economy of Fishing in Newfoundland," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 11 (February, 1976), pp. 32-40.
- Baum, Gregory. "The Theology of Liberation," The New Internationalist, No. 70 (December, 1978), p. 6.
- Bendavid, A. and L. Bendavid. "Developed and Underdeveloped: A Radical View of Constructive Relationships," International Development Review, Vol. 1 (1974), pp. 9-14.
- Bernier, Paul. "Documents of Social Justice Today," Emmanuel, Vol. 84, No. 2 (February, 1978), pp. 73-87.
- Bodenheimer, Susanne. "Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment," Politics and Society (May, 1971), pp. 327-358.
- Brown, D. C. Citizen Participation in Urban Redevelopment and the Role of the Church. A thesis submitted to Graduate Studies, University of Alberta, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community Development. Edmonton: 1972.
- Canning, Stratford. The Economics of Resettlement. A paper presented to a Newfoundland Teachers Association Workshop in Corner Brook, Newfoundland, January 21-23, 1974.
- _____. "The Illusion of Progress: Rural Development Policy since 1940," The Canadian Forum (March, 1974), pp. 22-23.
- Cardoso, Fernando H. "Dependency and Development in Latin America," New Left Review, Vol. 74 (July-August, 1972), pp. 83-95.
- _____. "Industrialization, Dependency and Power in Latin America," Berkley Journal of Sociology, Vol. XVII (1972-73), pp. 79-95.

- Charles, Roger, s.j. The Christian Social Conscience. Theology Today Series, No. 21, Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishers Inc., 1970.
- Chicolte, R. H. "Dependency: A Critical Synthesis of the Literature," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 4-29.
- _____. (Ed.). Dependency Theory: A Reassessment. A special issue of Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1974).
- Cohen, A. P. "The definition of public identity: managing marginality in outport Newfoundland following Confederation," Sociological Review, Vol. 23, No. 1 (February, 1975).
- Copes, Parzival. Community Resettlement and Rationalization of the Fishing Industry in Newfoundland. [Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.]. A paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Economics Association, St. John's, Newfoundland: 1971.
- Courtney, D. S. The Newfoundland Household Resettlement Programs: a case study in spatial reorganization and growth centre strategy. Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1973.
- Crocker, Ron. "A History of Crazy Industries." A commentary on David Alexander's (1973) paper presented at Kingston, Ontario. In The Evening Telegram, St. John's, Newfoundland: July 7, 1973, p.7.
- Crosbie, J. C. "Local Government in Newfoundland," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 22, No. 3 (1956), pp. 332-46.
- Dos Santos, Theotino. "The Crisis of Development Theory and the Problem of Dependence in Latin America," Siglo (1969), Vol. 21, as translated by D. Lehman in H. Bernstein (Ed.), Underdevelopment and Development, Penguin Books, 1976, pp. 57-80.
- _____. "The Structure of Dependence," American Economic Review, Vol. LX (May, 1970), pp. 231-236.
- Dunham, Arthur. "Community Development in North America," Community Development Journal, Vol. 7, No. 1 (January, 1972), pp. 10-40.
- Emerson, Richard. "Power-Dependence Relations," American Sociological Review, Vol. XXXVII (February, 1962), pp. 32-41.
- Evans, F. J. The challenge and conflict of change: a social and economic report on rural Newfoundland. St. John's, Newfoundland: 1966. (Mimeographed).

- Feltham, J. The Development of the Fisherman's Protective Union in Newfoundland (1908-1923). Master of Arts Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1959.
- Fragoso, Dom Antonio. "The Theology of Liberation." An outline of the theology in practice--the Catholic Church in north-east Brazil. The New Internationalist, No. 70 (December, 1978), pp. 7-8.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. "The Development of Underdevelopment," Monthly Review, Vol. XVII (September, 1966), pp. 17-31.
- _____. "Dependence is Dead, Long Live Dependence and the Class Struggle: A Reply to Critics," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 87-106.
- Friere, Paulo. "Education: domestication or liberation?", Prospects, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Summer, 1972), pp. 172-180.
- _____. "Conscientization and Liberation." An interview with Paulo Friere in: Development and Civilization, No. 51 (January-March, 1973a), pp. 42-51.
- Gantzel, K. J. "Dependency Structures as the Dominant Pattern in World Society," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 3 (1973), pp. 203-215.
- Gilbert, G. J. "Socialism and Dependency," Latin American Perspectives, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 107-123.
- Goulet, Denis. "Development . . . or Liberation?" Excerpt from a paper prepared for the 1971 Conference of the Latin American Bureau of the United States Catholic Conference of Bishops.
- Goundrey, G. K. "The Newfoundland Economy. A Modest Proposal," The Canadian Forum (March, 1974), pp. 17-18.
- Gutierrez, Gustavo. "Notes for a Theology of Liberation," Theological Studies, Vol. 31, No. 2 (June, 1970), pp. 243-261.
- Latapi, Pablo. Education and Justice. A monograph. Reprinted from: Let No Flame Be Quenched, EDUC International, Borgo S. Spirito, 5, Rome: (May, 1972), pp. 57-72.
- Laszlo, Ervin et al. Goals for Mankind: A Report to the Club of Rome on the New Horizons of Global Community. Signet (1978), pp. 5-11.
- de Lima Vaz, Henrique C. "The Church and Conscientizacao," America (April, 1978).

- Loomis, Charles P. "Change in Rural India as Related to Social Power and Sex of Adults," Behavioral Sciences and Community Development, 1 (March, 1967), pp. 1-27.
- Lotz, Jim. "Resettlement and Social Change in Newfoundland," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 8 (1), 1971, pp. 48-59.
- Matthews, Ralph. "Ethical issues in policy research: the investigation of community resettlement in Newfoundland," Canadian Public Policy (Spring, 1975), pp. 205-210.
- _____. "The Smallwood Legacy: The Development of Underdevelopment in Newfoundland, 1949-1972," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 13, No. 4 (Winter, 1978-79), pp. 89-108.
- Maxwell, Grant. Project Feedback. Signs and Portents in the Seventies. Attitudes of the Canadian Grass-roots. Report (5 parts) of a survey conducted across the Catholic Church in Canada during 1974-75 by the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops (CCCCB).
- Morawetz, David. "Twenty-five Years of Economic Development," Finance and Development, World Bank, Vol. 14, No. 1 (March, 1977), pp. 10-13.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. "Paths of Development," New Left Review, No. 36 (March-April, 1966), pp. 65-74.
- Neary, Peter. "Democracy in Newfoundland: a comment," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 4 (February, 1969), pp. 37-45.
- _____. "Boots and all: Newfoundland Today," The Canadian Forum (March, 1974), pp. 14-16.
- Nemec, T. F. "Political patronage and brokerage among the Newfoundland Irish." In the seminar: Local-level politics in Newfoundland, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, Newfoundland: 1972. (Mimeographed)
- _____. "Trepassey, 1505-1840 A.D." The Emergency of an Anglo-Irish Newfoundland Outport," The Newfoundland Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 4 (March, 1973a), pp. 17-28.
- _____. "Trepassey, 1840-1900: An Ethno-historical Reconstruction of Anglo-Irish Outport Society," The Newfoundland Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 4 (June, 1973b), pp. 15-24.
- _____. St. Shotts: The History, Ecology and Organization of an Anglo-Irish Newfoundland Outport and Its Cod Fishery. Unpublished doctoral dissertation to be submitted to the Department of Anthropology of the University of Michigan during Fall of 1979.

- O'Brien, D. J. and T. A. Shannon (Eds.). Renewing the Earth. Catholic Documents on Peace, Justice and Liberation. Doubleday: 1977.
- Parmar, S. L. "What Good Is Economic Betterment?", Ceres, Vol. 3, No. 4 (July-August, 1970), pp. 21-25.
- Paul, Leslie. "Church and Community in Britain," Community Development Journal, Vol. 7, No. 1 (January, 1972), pp. 59-64.
- Penrose, E. Review of E. Hagen's "The Economics of Development," Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 6 (1968), pp. 169-170.
- Rowe, W. N. The Newfoundland Resettlement Program: a case study in regional development and social adjustment. Harrison Hot Springs, B.C., Harrison Liberal Conference, 1969.
- Sacouman, James. "Underdevelopment and the Structural Origins of the Antigonish Movement Co-operatives in Eastern Nova Scotia," Acadiensis (1977).
- Sanders, Irwin T. "Inducing Social Change in Developing Communities," American Sociological Review, Vol. 34 (April, 1969), p. 261.
- Sanders, T. G. "The Paulo Friere Method," West Coast South America Series, Vol. XV, No. 1 (June, 1968), Chile.
- Seers, Dudley. "The Meaning of Development," International Development Review, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1969), pp. 2-6.
- Stiles, R. G. "Committees, politics and leaders: some reflections on the heterogeneity of the Newfoundland outport." In, The Colloquium on Community Aspects of Political Development, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's: 1971. (Mimeographed)
- Story, G. M. "The Flat Islands Newfoundlander," The Canadian Forum (March, 1974), pp. 24-25.
- Sunkel, Osvaldo. "Big Business and 'Dependencia'," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 50 (April, 1972), pp. 517-531.
- Traitler, R. People's Participation in Development. A Reflection on the Debate, n.d.
- Veltmeyer, Henry. The Underdevelopment of Atlantic Canada. A Paper. St. Mary's University, Halifax, N.S., November, 1977a.
- _____. The Methodology of Dependency Analysis. An Outline for a Strategy of Research on Regional Underdevelopment. A rough draft of a paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of CSAA at Fredericton, N.B.: June, 12, 1977b.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. "Dependence in an Interdependent World: The Limited Possibilities of Transformation Within the Capitalist Economy," African Study Review, Vol. XVII (April, 1974), pp. 1-26.

Wells, Robert. What you need to know about the government's policy on centralizing population. A pamphlet. Office of the Premier, St. John's, Newfoundland: 1959.

..... Between Honesty and Hope: Documents from and about the Church in Latin America. Issued at Lima by the Peruvian Bishops' Commission for Social Action. Translated by John Drury, Maryknoll, New York: Maryknoll Publications, 1970.

..... "Resettlement of the outports: welcome to Arnold's Cove," Canada and the World Magazine, (1971).

..... "Housing" (Special Section), Decks Awash, Vol. 3, Memorial University Extension Service, St. John's, Newfoundland (June, 1974), pp. 9-19.

..... "Municipalities" (Special Section), Decks Awash, Vol. 6, No. 6, Memorial University Extension Service, St. John's, Newfoundland (September, 1977), pp. 10-51.

..... "Church Times," The New Internationalist, No. 70 (December, 1978), pp. 9-11.

III. GOVERNMENT LEGISLATION, AGREEMENTS

AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

- Canada. Draft of an agreement between the Governments of Canada and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador amending an earlier agreement (July 16, 1965) known as The Newfoundland Fisheries Resettlement Programme. n.p., 1967.
- Canada. Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Second Newfoundland Resettlement Agreement, dated the 17th day of July, 1970 [between] the Government of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland [Ottawa, 1970].
- Canada. Canadian Council on Rural Development. Rural Canada 1970, Prospectus and Problems, Ottawa: 1969.
- Canada. Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Canada/Newfoundland. Second Special Areas Agreement. 1971.
- Canada. Department of Regional Economic Expansion. Federal-Provincial Agreement on Special Areas and Highways in Newfoundland and Labrador. April 1, 1970 - June 30, 1972.
- Government of Canada. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. 1977 Report of Operations Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Government of Canada. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Canadian Housing Statistics. 1977.
- Government of Canada. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and The National Housing Act. March, 1977.

GOVERNMENT OF NEWFOUNDLAND

- Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Department of Education, Local Government in Newfoundland. A Teaching Guide. Grade VIII. Bulletin No. 27-A. St. John's, Newfoundland: January, 1963.
- Newfoundland Department of Fisheries. Fisheries Household Resettlement Division. Outline of Program. K. M. Harnum, 1965.
- Newfoundland. Laws, statutes, etc. Fisheries household resettlement regulations.--[St. John's]: Queen's Printer, 1965.

Newfoundland Department of Community and Social Development. Basic Outline of the Fisheries Household Resettlement Program in Newfoundland. [Resettlement Division, Department of Community and Social Development]. 1970.

Government of Newfoundland. The Evacuated Communities Order, 1974. An order made under Section 3 of the Evacuated Communities Act, Chapter 114 of the Revised Statutes of Newfoundland, 1970.

Government of Newfoundland. The Role of Government in Housing in Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, 1971.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Historical Statutes of Newfoundland and Labrador. Volume 11 (1), July, 1977.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Chartbook of Selected Statistics for Newfoundland and Labrador. Volume 6 (1), August, 1978.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Department of Municipal Affairs. Municipal Organizations in Newfoundland. 1979.

..... Statistics Federal--Provincial Resettlement Program. Community Consolidation Program. First Resettlement Agreement (1965-1970) and Second Resettlement Agreement (1970-1975). Completed to April 30th, 1975.

..... ARDA III. Newfoundland Rural Development. A Cost-sharing Program of Rural Development under the Federal--Provincial 1971-75 ARDA Agreement.

IV. NEWSPAPERS

The Daily News, St. John's, Newfoundland. A daily with distribution limited mainly to the Avalon Peninsula and the major centres.

The Evening Telegram, St. John's, Newfoundland. A province-wide daily with the widest coverage and distribution in the province.

The Monitor, St. John's, Newfoundland. A monthly paper published by the Catholic Diocese of St. John's. This is a very conservative paper which presents official Church stands and teaching. It has distribution in the Dioceses of St. John's and Grand Falls.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

Burke, Maurice. A Series of Monographs: Memories of Newfoundland
Outport Life. St. John's, Newfoundland: 1970-78.

- An Old Fashioned Christmas
- The Parish Boat
- The Exile of Uncle Joe
- On Leaving Home
- Tom Farrell: Portrait of a Teacher
- The Parish Priest
- The Outport Doctor

APPENDIX A

OUTLINE OF QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN INTERVIEWS

- A. What was the situation here before Confederation--in 1949?
 - 1. In the area of community government: the mechanics and scope of community decision-making.
 - 2. In the area of housing: the components of house construction, ownership, operation and maintenance.
 - 3. In the area of Church role and influence: the mechanics and scope of Church activity in both temporal and spiritual matters.
- B. What is the situation here today--1979?
 - 1. In the area of community government.
 - 2. In the area of housing.
 - 3. In the area of Church role and influence.
- C. What were the causes for the changes between 1949 and 1979?
 - 1. In the area of community government.
 - 2. In the area of housing.
 - 3. In the area of Church role and influence.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF THOSE INTERVIEWED

i. In the Communities

1) St. Brendan's:

Leonce Walsh, Bernard Bridgeman, William Broderick,
Sadie Hynes, Jack Croke, Thomas and Alice O'Rielly.

Others interviewed on some points only:

John Casey, David Hynes, Joseph Hynes, Nell Bridgeman,
Kate Colbert, Alice Colbert, Frank Colbert,
Rev. Ronald Walsh.

2) Melrose:

Lizzie Peters, Thomas Peters, Phil Donovan,
Majella Duggan, Brendan Peters, Catherine Peters,
Donald Cotter, James Cotter, Marie Cotter.

3) Harbour Main:

Rich Terry, Mary Murphy, Joseph Moore, Richard Dalton,
Terry and Maureen Woodford, Rick Terry, Nicholas
Dalton, Patrick Kavanagh, Claire Wall, Anne Terry,
Ray Dalton.

4) Buchans Junction:

Alice Best, Richard Maloney, Veronica Williams,
Suzannah Quirk, Leona Best, Merle Maloney,
William Quirk, John Quirk, Robert Moss, Mabel Moss,
Selby Hewlett, Annie Perrier, Garland Kirby.

5) Trepassey:

John Devereaux, Father Frank Maloney, Rick and Anne
Pennell, Francis Corrigan, Catherine Pennell,
Basil Crosscup, Francis Curtis, Gordon Shea.

II. Miscellaneous Interviews:

Maurice Burke, Paul O'Neill, Joseph R. Smallwood, Michael McCarthy, Doug Brophy, Don Hollett, Bishop A. L. Penney, Rev. J. Beresford, Terry Healy, Jim Lotz, Bishop Remi DeRoo, Bishop Joseph MacNeill.

III. Participants in "Brainstorming"--Deanery Meeting:

Reverends William Matthews, Aloysious Antle, William Houlahan, Edward Brophy, Michael Walsh, Frank Aylward, Wayne Cummings, James Beresford.

Appendix C

THE FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

The findings of this research detail changes since 1949 in the areas of activity in Newfoundland outport society: community government, housing and the role and influence of the Catholic Church. The communities are discussed individually, highlighting the changes in each area. A composite summary of the changes follows.

THE CASE STUDIES

St. Brendan's

Community government, 1949-1979. Prior to Confederation, community decisions on St. Brendan's were made by the priest, but usually after consultation with various community leaders. Most respondents felt that very few community decisions were needed or made. "In each of the coves, the roads chairman looked after the maintenance of the roads and culverts, and the priest had all to do with the schools."

Sometimes the initiative regarding community matters was taken by other local leaders¹ who would bring the issue to the priest's attention. Sometimes the priest would raise the issue. In either case, the priest made the final decision.² An older resident of

St. Brendan's put it this way:

In those days the priest was the ring-leader in St. Brendan's. He had all to do with the government too. We didn't hear too much from the government. Most of it [providing needed services] was left up to the priest and ourselves. Father Terry put the road through to Shalloway Cove almost on his own. The priest was the law, the doctor and everything to us then. We went to him for everything.

The move to official local government was initiated in 1953 by the parish priest, Father Ed Shea, who "talked a lot about it to us, and got a man out from the government to explain the whole thing". What occasioned the move to local government was a problem concerning the roads between the four settlements on the island. Without local government, no one settlement was responsible for these "highroads". When the Community Council was elected in 1953, grants were then available from the central government for this work.

Between 1953 and the early 1970's, the Community Council seems to have been relatively inactive with few special projects or initiatives undertaken. Some respondents attributed this inactivity partly to the strong presence of Father Shallow (1964-1972) who "provided strong community leadership and got a lot of things done". However, as one Council representative stated:

He didn't work through the Council, but formed all kinds of groups and committees to get things done.⁴ He overshadowed the Council. For the last few years the priest hasn't shown the same community leadership, and so this has allowed for a stronger presence of the Community Council.

All respondents expressed satisfaction with the activities of the Council both as regards community services and relations with government.

Today, if the politicians or government want contact with St. Brendan's, it is through the Council. They contact the

Chairman, and he seems to know the right people and to be able to see them when there is a need. I think he has a fair political clout in speaking for the community.

Council officials added: "We get good response from the media over trouble issues. The media are well aware of us today."

As well as the Community Council, there are two other local government structures--the Development Council and the Local School Committee. The latter seems to be inactive at present, but the former appears to be quite dynamic, and is currently involved in a controversy with the Community Council over several issues.⁵ "The Community Council has more political pull and gets more recognition than any other agency on the island including the priest." This belief was expressed by several respondents.

There is provision for input in Council decisions. "Any major issue involves a general community meeting, called by the Council, with discussion and consensus. The meeting is a sounding-board for the Council. The Council makes the actual decision."⁶

Housing in St. Brendan's, 1949-1979. The following is a comment of a former fisherman, and a man who was ". . . proud of what we had then."

Back in 1949, it was the time of Stephenville⁷ and the Labrador [fishery]. Things were not too bad here then. In those days we all owned our own homes, although we didn't have many modern conveniences. Some of the crowd had gas washers and battery radios, and there was a few had the lights.⁸

Another older resident commented: "Everybody used to keep up his own property and gardens. There was only a very few here then that didn't seem to give much heed and let their property go. It was mostly kept up pretty well." Since most families grew their own vegetables and

kept some livestock (sheep, chicken, cow or horse), all fences were kept in good repair.

The style of housing was the traditional two-storey, box-shape house with a flat, felt-covered roof. Chimnies were of brick, floors usually painted or covered with a sort of rough sail canvas, and, for the sake of heating efficiency, the ceilings were relatively low.

Construction was of locally provided lumber⁹ with each family doing its own building.¹⁰ Apart from the house, the family "room" or property usually included a barn or shed, a vegetable cellar, a fishing stage, wharf and a boat launching platform (a slipway).

The main room in the house was the kitchen which was also the largest, since it served as an eating and cooking area and the place of social gathering and amusement.¹¹

Home heating in 1949 was almost exclusively by wood stove, although some coal was used. Lighting in most homes was by kerosene or gas lamp, since only a couple of families had generating plants.

There were ". . . very few people here in 1949 who had insurance on their homes--perhaps the priest and the merchant. Only one or two had indoor bathrooms and running water. For most, the sewer was the landwash."

Between 1950 and 1965 the resettlement threat was responsible for the deterioration of many homes.

When the talk started about moving, the people here began to slack up. We were afraid to put any money into our homes because we weren't sure if we would have to leave it all the next month. We saw what happened to Flat Island and Braggs Island. Since 1950 almost all the waterfront property was let go--no encouragement to keep it up. Most of the fences went too, and a lot of the

houses were neglected.

The housing picture began to change during the mid-1960's.

One respondent, referring to the cause of this, commented:

Bill Shallow was the main cause for St. Brendan's coming out of its slump. He wouldn't say die. He said, "If we need a school, we will build a school." He had the right attitude. He did up the church and the rectory, and that caused a lot of us to start thinking about doing up our own homes. He had a lot to do with getting the electricity and that had a big effect on the homes. We all had appliances here as soon as the houses were hooked up.¹²

Housing today on St. Brendan's is comparable to that in any rural community. During the past five years, seven new homes have been built, and six older homes totally renovated, while ". . . there is hardly a home here that hasn't undergone extensive renovation during the past ten years."

Most homes (about 90%) have bathrooms, all have electrical service, and most have telephones. The newer houses are insured, but the older ones generally are not.

Heating is mainly with oil although some have electric heat. Due to the increasing cost of oil and electricity, many families are now reverting to a modern wood-stove.

The new houses have ". . . a more modern style, and are mostly ranch or bungalow type." Unlike the traditional style houses, the newer homes usually have basements.

A retired couple commented: "People here seem to be more interested now. There is a lot keeping up vegetable gardens too. I think we all feel proud of what we have. It's almost like it used to be forty years ago."

Some of the houses that were closed when individual families moved, have been opened and renovated by young couples, or by families who come back to spend the summer. Most, if not all, of the houses on St. Brendan's are owned outright, even those built recently.

The Church in St. Brendan's, 1949-1979. The following comments of one of the older respondents reflect the mixture of fear and respect which most people had for the priest until recent years:

In both parish and community affairs the priest had complete authority and control here up until these past few years. We didn't look to have any say then. It was all left up to the priest. We used to be afraid of the priest. We considered he was God Almighty and wouldn't speak to him unless he spoke first.

Respondents stated that all decisions relating to the parish were made by the priest, with little or no input from parishioners. "The Holy Name and Altar Societies were on the go then, but they were really only for communication. And this was mostly one way--from the priest to us."

The authority of the priest was recognized and accepted by all regardless of their age. "The priest was supposed to be the expert in everything. If someone disagreed, it was rarely, if ever, in public, and rarely as well in private."

This was the pattern up to about 1968 when Father Shallow started the Parish Council. Commenting on this, one respondent stated:

The Parish Council was one of the best things ever in this parish, because we had a chance to thrash things out. A group of people made the decisions, not just one. The priest didn't dictate to the Council, and everyone had a say.

However, it was generally felt that, because of his strong personality and ability, Shallow usually persuaded people to his way of thinking.

Shallow's successor is considered by the respondents, to have ". . . killed the Council by ignoring it." There is general resentment over the fact that the Council no longer functions, and some respondents placed partial responsibility on the Church authorities in the Diocese. "I think the priest shouldn't have been allowed to do that. Parish councils should have been compulsory in every parish."

At the present time, parish decisions are made by the priest. There is no mechanism for input other than ". . . going to talk to the priest on your own." Most respondents indicated that there is no longer the barrier of fear to prevent this communication, and that the present priest seems "easy to get along with." It was felt by most respondents that the older people still have the same respect for the priest "as a priest," but that individual personality and ability seem to determine the scope of his influence. There is ". . . little contact at present between the priest and the younger people [ages 16-35] in the parish, although up to a few years ago this was good."

In spite of the existence of the Community Council since 1953, the priest remained as the main influence and chief spokesman in St. Brendan's until the early 1970's.¹³ As was stated earlier relative to Bill Shallow, "He was a strong and capable personality. He overshadowed the Council while he was here." Shallow's successor did not appear, in the eyes of the respondents, to have the same dynamic though paternalistic concern for their interests. This was reflected in the following statement:

During the past six years or so, the priest hasn't had the same influence he used to have here. Now the Community Council makes all the decisions for the place. It has the authority and the responsibility. The priests don't seem to be as much

interested in the school either. They don't have that much contact with them. We have the medical clinic, and if we need the police or the doctor, all we have to do is get on the 'phone. I guess we don't have to depend on the priest as much any more, so he doesn't have the same say and push he used to have.

Other reasons offered to explain this loss of influence in the community include higher education levels, more mobility and exposure to new ideas through television which have ". . . helped us to think for ourselves."

The priest today has "little or no influence on the decisions of the Community Council." Community Council officials stated that they see no relationship at present between the Council and the priest other than that of a private citizen. In spite of this, however, other respondents felt that, "The priest could make it pretty hard for the Council if he wanted to." At present there does appear to be some tension in the relationship between the Council and the priest.

Melrose

Community government, 1949-1979. In 1949, Melrose had no local government except for the Local Roads Board. All respondents stated that, at the time, "Phil Donovan [Chairman of the Local Roads Board] was looked up to by most of the people in the place. And he had the most pull with the government too."

Donnovan's own recollection of the pre-Confederation years corroborated the statements of the other respondents. "I had to make the decisions here at that time. There weren't that many decisions to make except about the roads. I acted on my own, and never bothered the priest about too much."

This pattern continued until 1967 when a serious issue arose concerning community boundaries.¹⁴ At the same time the issue of local government had been "... pushed by the priest all one winter. He talked about a community council at the Holy Name meetings, and with a lot of us privately. He insisted that it was the proper thing to do."¹⁵

In early spring of 1968, a petition was taken around the community to determine the feelings of the people.¹⁶ Almost 98% were in favour of a community council. The first Council was elected shortly afterwards with M. Duggan as Chairman. The new Council was not effective immediately. Reasons offered by the Chairman at that time related to Melrose's political leanings:

Melrose was always P.C. We couldn't get anything out of Joey. There was no way to get to see anyone. If it was Aaron Bailey or Bert Swyers¹⁷ they would get what they wanted. For the likes of me here in Melrose, the Minister was never in. Since the P.C.'s took over we have done alright. We can talk to people in the government now, and the Council is after doing a fair bit in the past few years.

Most respondents agreed that the Council is doing "a pretty fair job," and are satisfied that they are receiving good value for the local fees (taxes) paid. Among the services provided by the Council are water and sewer, street lighting, garbage collection and snow clearing.

There was a common statement that, "There doesn't seem to be much interest in being on Council." The current Chairman feels that this is due mainly to the fact that, "... it involves a lot of time, a lot of headaches, and it's an easy way to make bad friends." The present Council consists of one male and four female members.

Both Council representatives and other respondents felt that the Council Chairman has "a lot of weight in dealing with the government," but that "When it comes to contacts and pull, Phil Donovan has probably the most influence still."

Housing in Melrose, 1949-1979. At the time of Confederation, "We were all too interested and tied up in making a living to be concerned much about the looks of our houses." This comment sums up the feelings of the older respondents in their reflection on what it was like thirty years ago. "In those days there was no money in this place. We could barely scrape a living to get enough to eat and wear. We couldn't think about home improvement then."

According to some of the respondents, the appearance of many houses in Melrose in 1949 left much to be desired.

Most people kept up the fences because of the gardens. But a lot of people couldn't afford to paint up every year. In a way, I suppose we may have felt inferior to Catalina and Port Union because they had electricity, the water and sewer and all the conveniences, and most of the homes were tidy and neat.¹⁹

The common style of construction was similar to that described for St. Brendan's, and as well the same means were used for heating, sewage and lighting. In 1949 all homes in Melrose were owned outright. "There was a fair bit of overcrowding, with some homes having two or three families."

A big transformation has occurred in the area of housing in Melrose during the past ten years, mainly because, "There is plenty of money on the go here now since the Plant went 'year round'.²⁰ Now we have the money to get not only what we need, but what we want. We can make our homes as comfortable and as modern as we want."²¹

Evidence of the influence of abundant money is seen in the number of renovated houses. As one respondent elaborated:

In the past two years, twelve new homes were built here, and ten older houses were fully renovated. And most everyone has done renovations of some kind. Most have modern kitchens and bathrooms, and about three-quarters have electric heat.

All homes have modern conveniences and appliances. The new and fully renovated houses are insured (\$30,000 to \$50,000 with about 80% coverage), but many of the older homes have no coverage.²²

The style of the newer homes varies, but most are in the modern ranch or split-level style. There is little other property today since "Hardly anyone has gardens or animals these days, and there is no need of barns or fences." The fences that have been built recently are of the ranch style.

Although all respondents stressed the importance of abundant money, two respondents added, "The biggest change in housing here is that people now have some pride in their homes. One wants to have as good a house as the next fellow. The attitude has changed." One older respondent commented:

Thirty years ago, if someone had come here to take pictures of the community and the houses, it wouldn't have bothered me. It wouldn't have come to my mind. But now, looking back, I realize it should have bothered me.

The older respondents referred rather negatively to ownership of the new housing, indicating that about half these houses had been financed and half built mortgage-free.

The Church in Melrose, 1949-1979. The feelings of most of the respondents regarding the role and influence of the priest in parish and religious matters thirty years ago are reflected by the comments

of one middle aged respondent:

In anything that had to do with the Church or religion here in those days, the priest had all the say. He made the decisions. At that time we were frightened to death of the priest. We would never question his decision or plans. What he said went. There was no way then to have any influence on the priest's decision.

Since education was a Church responsibility, the priest exercised total authority in the schools. There was no mechanism to allow input of the parishioners into his decisions. The Altar and Holy Name Societies performed the same function as in St. Brendan's--one way communication²³.

Several respondents distinguished between the priest's authority and his influence. "Because of his position, the priest ruled the roost here in Melrose." The indication given is that, in the area of community control and discipline, the priest exercised authority (non-legal) and influence, but that this influence did not extend to other sectors of community life or to outside agencies. "The priest wasn't much concerned with us here thirty years ago. As long as there was no trouble, we carried on our own way."

"It was after the Second Vatican Council, and when we started to get a few changes in the Church" that the pattern changed. A parish council was established in the parish in 1971, and since that time, parish decisions have been made by the Council. "Today, with the present priest especially, the people resort to him for spiritual needs only. All administrative decisions are made by the Council."

Most respondents indicated that, "An awful lot depends on the priest. If he is really intersted, the Parish Council can really be something." Most felt, however, that, "If he wanted to, the priest

could overrule the Council on any issue."²⁴

All respondents considered the Council to be "... a good thing," and "far ahead of the old system." However, two people indicated that it is "not what it should be. There are people here with ability who should be on it, but won't get involved."

There has been no appreciable difference in the influence of the priest in the community affairs of Melrose, except that he no longer has the same degree of disciplinary authority he had thirty years ago. As one older woman commented:

We don't have any school here now, and the children don't have the same fear of the priest as we had. I'm sure us older people are more influenced by the priest than the children. And it's not so much fear any more with us either. We know a bit more now, and have a bit more, and most of us feel we can think for ourselves. So we don't need the priest as much as we used to.

Buchans Junction

Community government, 1949-1979. Buchans Junction has never had any form of community government. There was no consensus among respondents as to any particular local leader prior to Confederation, although one respondent referred to a local merchant in that capacity.

The services of electricity and a bridge were provided "... through the initiative of Dr. Rowe [the MHA]. We approached him also about the 'phones and the road connection and paving, and he came through for us."

The procedure of relying on the local politician to help with needed services continues to the present. There is still no local government in Buchans Junction although, since 1977, two Citizens'

Committees²⁵ have been set up to look after garbage collection, water and sewage.

There is no structure of community discipline in Buchans Junction, with the area being policed by RCMP from Buchans. As is obvious from the procedure used in relation to the Citizens' Committees, there is no systematic organization in the community, or means of planning for the future.

In the absence of any recognized community leader or spokesman²⁶, the local MHA is the liaison with government agencies and departments.

Housing in Buchans Junction, 1949-1979. The community of Buchans Junction dates only to the late 1920's, with none of the historical background common to the other four.

Before the road came through, there was only about a dozen families here, and there wasn't much to it. Those who came to work in Buchans settled here because they couldn't get housing in Buchans, and this was within commuting distance on the train or with the road. Most of those who moved here stuck up anything at all to live in for the first year or so. Then, after they got settled away in their jobs, they usually built a more permanent house.

The few houses that were in Buchans Junction in the late 1940's included some of the traditional style houses described in the previous case studies, but there were also a few "good-sized log cabins"²⁷ and some bungalows.

Heating was exclusively by wood stove with lighting by kerosene or gas lamp. No insurance was carried on any of the houses.

Water supply was by private well, but sewage and garbage disposal presented a major problem. Some people used the lake (Red Indian) or the river (Mary March) for sewage disposal, but most depended on open pits.

Garbage was usually dumped on the property adjacent to each house.²⁸

Most of the residents thirty years ago had their own vegetable gardens. There were a few horses and a few families had dog teams.²⁹ The usual assortment of vegetable cellars, small barns and sheds were also present.

When Buchans Junction was connected to Badger and Buchans by a gravel road in 1963, there were many effects on the community. The population increased very quickly with a number of workers at Buchans moving their families "... in from the coast."³⁰ Since that time, fifteen houses have been built.

Speaking of the effect of the road on the community, one woman commented:

Once the road came through, a lot of us were able to see what things were like in Grand Falls and other places. It helped a lot of us want to do up our homes. What encouraged us most though, was the realization that, with the road, we were on public display.

The road through Buchans Junction to Buchans was paved in 1970. In recent years, many residents felt concern over the unsightly and unsanitary garbage piles around most properties. After this problem was rectified in 1976 by the first Citizens' Committee³¹, there seemed to be a different attitude about the appearance of homes and properties. "A lot of people seemed to show more pride and interest once all the garbage was cleared up. That's probably some of the reason a lot of us have done some big improvements in our homes."

The present housing picture is of 75 homes, rather haphazardly located around the community, in varied styles and forms: two-storey box type, one-storey bungalow, one-storey log cabin and several mobile homes. Most have modern conveniences, with private water and

sewer systems (septic tank). There is no local fire protection, and only the homes that have been built with outside financing, and those of the store-keepers, are covered by insurance.

There is little landscaping in the community except for some of the new homes. The appearance of some of the homes is drab and makeshift, and many give the impression of being overcrowded and too small. "There may be seven or eight shacks here now. But that doesn't necessarily mean sub-standard. In some cases these people are living according to their means."

All the older homes are owned outright, but many of the newer ones have been built with the aid of financing. Many residents have availed themselves of recent federal government programs to improve homes. "Most everyone here has done up their homes a bit due to the insulation program."

Financing has also been used by some in the refurnishing and renovation of older homes. One older respondent decried the use of credit:

People here today seem compelled to keep up with the next fellow, even though he may have three times the income. The result is that a lot of people here have beautiful homes and furnishings; but in many cases, it's really not their's. It belongs to the bank or finance company. These companies are pushing credit on everybody without concern for the effects it has on a lot of unsuspecting people.

The Church in Buchans Junction, 1949-1979. The general feeling of respondents is summed up in the following comment:

Until very recent years, the Church was never much of a factor in the lives of people here in the Junction. Before the road, we only saw the priest twice a year³², and even after the road, there was no involvement other than mass on Sundays. Up to about seven years ago we had no say in Church matters. The priest decided all. He told us when he was coming, and what for,

and that was all of it.

There was an Altar Society formed during the late 1960's which was responsible for ensuring that the school chapel³³ and various Church equipment was kept suitable and ready for weekly mass. The group was also involved in some fund-raising, but had no authority in parish decisions.

During 1971, a parish council was established in Buchans Junction. There was some initial opposition³⁴, but within a year it was functioning efficiently and independently of the priest.³⁵ Regarding the effects of the Parish Council, one respondent who had not been involved in the Council stated:

I think the Parish Council is one of the best things that ever happened to Buchans Junction. It has made an overall difference in the whole community. Ten years ago we were pretty disorganized here, but when people got involved in the Council and accepted responsibility, they were more inclined to get involved in other things. So, a lot of those who were on the first Council are now involved in the Citizens' Committees and are taking responsibilities in the community.

Another respondent who had been involved in the Parish Council from the beginning, made this comment:

Today the Parish Council makes the decisions. Its main benefit is that it allows input from everyone with discussions and openness. It brings about a lot of awareness. The Council is a sensible decision-making mechanism. It also gives people a sense of accomplishment. Its success, and my part in it, has given me the confidence to accept other community involvements that I wouldn't have dreamt of doing ten years ago.

Several respondents stressed the impact of the Parish Council on the entire community.³⁶ "I see the priest being more looked up to here today than before. It's because of setting up and working with the Parish Council. The priest helped people to see their abilities, and provided some reason for self-respect and confidence."

This indication of respect for the Church in the parish and overall community seems reserved to the individual priests concerned, rather than to the positions or to the Church as an institution. "I hope our Council keeps on strong. A lot will depend on the priest, I suppose. Maybe the next one won't have anything to do with it."

Harbour Main

Community government, 1949-1979. All respondents stressed the paramount role played in community affairs by the priest, but all mentioned as well, other local leaders who formed 'a local power-elite who could be knit together by the priest.'³⁷

Apart from decisions about the local roads, all community matters thirty years ago were under the priest's jurisdiction. If a decision was to be made, Fr. Dwyer and P. J. Kennedy [merchant] made it. But the priest had all to do with the schools.

The process of community decision-making involved a general community meeting called by the priest in the parish hall. If the issue was not finalized at such a meeting, it would usually be settled between the priest and the few influential leaders.

The function of community discipline and control was looked after by the resident policeman.³⁸ Some degree of planning seemed to be involved at this time in Harbour Main, under the leadership of Fr. Dwyer.

The local MHA was also an important factor in the process of meeting community needs. "Fr. Dwyer was a close friend of Phil Lewis [the MHA], and he got a lot from the government for this place because of that."

After Fr. Dwyer's death in 1950, there seemed to be a "... change in the structure of the community here." Respondents indicated that the new priest was more likely to "... act on his own³⁹ in spite of opposition from the people." Some felt that this was partly due to the personality of the particular priest, and partly due to the fact that "... there didn't seem to be the local leaders around like we used to have."

The procedure of community meetings was dropped by the new priest, and "No other means of input was provided. He wasn't the kind of man you could go to personally and reason things out. He only had one way--his way."

During the 1950's, community discipline was taken over by the RCMP, stationed over twenty miles away in Harbour Grace.

The need for local government was raised in 1965 by Joe Moore, a local businessman, who had the backing of several other interested citizens.⁴⁰ There was strong opposition from the priest. "He preached against it and publicly maligned some of those involved in promoting the idea. We couldn't even get the hall for a meeting. Because the priest was against it, most of the people were negative also."

Eventually, a community council was formed, initially excluding Charles Cove and Lake View, although these were later included. In 1977, the Community Council was forced to resign due to lack of quorum, and was replaced by the government-appointed Rural District Council.

In spite of the apparent lack of interest, all respondents felt the Council has done, and is doing "a pretty fine job." There was general satisfaction with the services being provided, which

include: fire protection, street lighting and paving, building and zoning controls, a town hall and garbage collection. The general feeling about the present local government is summed up in this statement:

Decisions about the community here now are made by the Council. I think that's the proper way. They are doing alright. I regret having no input because it's not an elected body. But that's my own fault, and I hope there is enough concern and interest at next election to bring back an elected council.

Housing in Harbour Main, 1949-1979. Several respondents considered Harbour Main to be ". . . until very recently, the top community in the head of Conception Bay." All felt that housing in the community in 1949 was better than in most neighbouring communities.

Different reasons were offered. "Church property was kept up because of Fr. Dwyer's pride and concern, I think the people shared this pride and it showed in their homes and property." Another respondent said "Our old people had a terrible sense of pride-- best houses, best boats, best horses. There would be no one drive [horse and wagon] to Avondale or Holyrood without every bit of harness all shined up, no matter how poor or old it was."

Most houses in 1949 were of the traditional style and layout (as in St. Brendan's and Melrose). Heating was generally by wood and coal, but a few used oil. Although electricity had come to Harbour Main in 1925, there were still a few homes in 1949 that had not been "hooked up."

As in St. Brendan's, "Most people kept some livestock and everyone had gardens, so fences were important and were kept in good shape."

As in the other communities, water and sewer services were a private responsibility. There was no organized fire protection, and little insurance was carried, except by the more well-to-do people.

All homes were owned outright, and had been "family built", usually under the supervision of the local carpenters.

Little changed on the housing scene in Harbour Main until about twelve years ago. Since that time, 104 of the 280 houses in the community have been built, and all the older homes have undergone extensive renovation.⁴¹

All homes have modern interiors and furnishings, and "Just about everyone has their own private water and sewer system with electric pumps and septic tanks."⁴² Respondents estimated that over 95% of the homes in the community are insured.

The style of housing has changed since 1949, with the newer houses being of the ranch or split-level type with basement. Also, "More people are interested in lawns and landscaping around their houses, and most of the new homes have ranch fences as well." One respondent spoke of "a move back to vegetable gardens, but not to the same degree as thirty years ago when it was a source of livelihood for many."

Maintenance of many of the newer homes is different from the past, due to the use of aluminum alloy siding instead of wood. One respondent commented that some of the plans, designs and materials used in construction of modern homes are really not suited to Newfoundland climate and weather conditions. "It might look nice for a while, but some of it doesn't stand up at all." The lay-out of

today's houses, whether new or renovated, is different from the past. With central heating, all rooms can be used, and the kitchen no longer serves as the main living area. Another reason offered for the kitchen not being the living area is the very size of today's television sets--"too bulky for the kitchen."

In attempting to explain the changes in housing since 1949, all respondents stressed the availability of money--both from employment and from Old Age Security. "There is no shortage of money today and people can afford any convenience and most luxuries."

Several respondents spoke of the importance of the media in exposing people to new styles and new methods of construction, and also to the knowledge and accessibility of goods and services. There was also reference to a changing culture in most outports ". . . with different attitudes towards old people,⁴³ towards borrowing and spending,⁴⁴ and towards outport life in general.

One older respondent summed it up by saying, "The main cause for the change has been a general trend to modernization caused by more travel, more education and more money. But a lot of it is from the initiative of the people in the community."

The Church in Harbour Main, 1949-1979. The following comment sums up the feeling of respondents regarding the influence of the priest in parish and community affairs:

In those days there was the institutional or faith dimension which gave a deep, broad influence to the Church in most Catholic communities. The faith element had a tremendous impact on the people of Harbour Main. Things were done according to the faith. And the faith exacted a total adherence to the mind of the priest.

There was little, if any difference for most people as regards

the authority of the priest in parish or civic matters. Coupled with the "faith dimension" which provided authority and influence to anyone holding the position of parish priest, there was also the dimension of the "individual personality" which could provide either a positive or a negative impact.

To illustrate the importance of individual personality and characteristics relative to influence in parish and community, most respondents made comparisons between several former priests of the parish and also some from neighbouring parishes.⁴⁵

During the 1940's, the priest in Harbour Main was the central and most influential figure in the community. His influence is obvious from our treatment of community government, and, in parish matters, "He made all the decisions." Although the Presentation Sisters "... ran the convent school in the parish," it was the priest who had the final word.

Input into both parish and community decisions during the 1940's was by means of general meetings called by the priest.

There was a lessening in the influence of the priest during the 1950's and 1960's as a result of the individual occupying the position of pastor, and also because of the advent of the Community Council and the consolidation of school boards. "Both these organizations took over functions formerly reserved to the priest. With such a reduction in function and authority, the priest's influence diminished greatly, and there was a bit of a barrier created."⁴⁶

At the present time, there still seems to be a barrier between Church and people in the community. One man commented:

I suppose, in this way [by having the allegiance of the older people], he still controls the parish, because there are the older people who support the parish steadily and are concerned about it. But there is no contact at all with the younger people, and they make up a big part of this parish.

In community matters today, the priest has no "extra" influence. He may influence some individuals, but he has ". . . no sway over Council decisions." However, in parish matters today, "The priest still calls the shots." There is no provision for input into his decisions except by personal contact, and ". . . most people have neither the confidence nor interest to take this approach." There is no parish council, although several attempts have been made by individual parishioners since 1970 to have a council established.⁴⁷

As one respondent summed it up, "In 1949 the parish at Harbour Main included the communities of Harbour Main and Chaples Cove. Today, the community of Harbour Main includes the parish as one of its components."

Trepassey

Community government, 1949-1979. As in three of the former communities, the priest was the "governing voice" in Trepassey until recently.

During the 1940's and 1950's, and up to about twelve or fifteen years ago, the priest was the kingpin here in Trepassey. He ran the whole show in the parish and in the town, although the merchants and teachers had some influence.⁴⁸ There was a local roads board, but apart from decisions about the roads, the priest spotted the problems, took the initiative, and made all the decisions.

As examples of this initiative, most respondents referred to the Fishery Products Plant which was built in 1954, ". . . mainly

through the efforts and push of Fr. Maloney [parish priest in Trepassey since 1949]."⁴⁹

There was a mechanism with the potential for input--the general community meetings called by the priest on most serious issues. However, little reference was made to these except as ". . . a means of telling us what he had decided."

The function of community discipline in 1949 was officially the responsibility of the local policeman, but, as one man commented, "I'd say that he got a lot of his instructions from the priest." During the 1950's, when local police service was replaced by the RCMP detachment at Ferryland, community discipline was carried out by the priest. "If there was a racket here in the hall thirty years ago, or if someone broke up public property, they would have to answer to the priest. Not too many tried it a second time."

There is little evidence that thirty years ago there was any thought of future planning, although Fr. Maloney's motivation in seeking the Fish Plant was, ". . . to provide an opportunity for the future of the people and the community because no one was working here in 1949."⁵⁰

Although the Fish Plant provided employment from its opening in 1954, there was no appreciable change in the community until the operation was extended year round with the expansion to a dragger operation in 1964.⁵¹ This also resulted in a massive influx of workers from other communities. About the same time, the employees and families of the Department of Transport (DOT) who were working at the Loran Station in nearby Cape Race, were located in Trepassey.

This influx of workers precipitated a building boom in the community with houses being built by the DOT, the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, and by individual workers. Many residents realized the potential problems of uncontrolled building in the community, the need for some regulatory structure and the need for modern services for the fast growing town.

The first move came in 1966 with the formation of a community council on Daniel's Point, prompted by the need for a water system and spearheaded by a local resident.⁵² Trepassey itself then began to mobilize with petitions being circulated for both a local improvement district council (LID) and a community council. The result was a 51% vote in favour of an LID council (an appointed body), which included Daniel's Point and Trepassey. This was replaced in 1968 by an elected town council through the initiative of a local merchant, John Devereaux, who became the first mayor. In each of these initiatives, the local MHA's were involved, especially in the initial stages.

Since the Town Council was elected, community government in Trepassey has been ". . . good and effective. We have better services than most communities along the Shore."⁵³ There is evidence of good citizen participation and interest with ten candidates having contested the seven Council seats in the last election. The various organizations in the community (Lion's Club, Student Union, Recreation Association and Parish) have interest in the Council, and provide input on most issues.

The Council now carries out the functions of control, planning,

provision of services, liaison with the departments of government, and spokesman for the community in all issues. The Council's weakest function was said to be that of planning, especially in relation to building and zoning regulations.

Housing, 1949-1979. Trepassey respondents expressed great pride in their homes and community, as is obvious from the following comment:

Due to the fact that Trepassey, since the early 1900's, has always been "on display,"⁵⁴ the housing in the community, although much the same as in other outports, was probably a little better than most. The yearly influx of tourists and visitors prompted the people to try and provide the best in appearances and hospitality. This gave a reputation which the people have always tried to maintain.

The style, layout, methods of heating, lighting, maintenance and sanitation of homes in Trepassey before Confederation were the same as in most outports of the time. There was no electricity until about 1950. All homes were owned outright and there was little, if any, insurance except for the parish property and businesses. Fences and other property were well maintained and kept in good condition.

A change occurred shortly after Confederation. "There was a let-down around the time of Confederation as far as property went. Some of the men had given up fishing and gone away to work. So, the gardens and fences were neglected, and a lot of the boats and fishing gear went." After the Fish Plant was built in 1954, this trend increased, with many people, "more interested in making quick cash at the Plant than spending time keeping up their property."

The greatest impact on the housing scene came in the mid-1960's with the Plant extension, and the influx of workers from outside, both

for the Plant and for the DOT Station at Cape Race.⁵⁵ Two blocks of rental houses were built in a subdivision near the centre of town. The DOT houses were superior to those built by the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation for Plant workers. There was a difference in style and quality of construction and materials, but all were located on serviced land.

Being rental units, there was fast turnover in the Plant workers' houses, and they deteriorated rapidly. "They were built cheap to be rented cheap to low-paid Plant employees. Since you didn't own it, you didn't take any pride in it or concern for it."⁵⁶

Since 1951, housing has doubled in Trepassey, with most of the increase since 1967. In the past several years, new home construction by private individuals has increased rapidly. One respondent stated that 26 homes were built during the previous twelve months. Most older homes have been renovated and provided with modern furnishings and appliances.

Different styles and designs have been used in house construction with the ranch and split-level designs being the most popular. The contrast between the superior quality of the DOT houses and the poorer quality of the "fishery houses" has had an impact on the style and layout of the newer homes. "There aren't many around that would build a house like the fishery houses, or build up where they are, on 'the hill,' for that matter. I think a lot of people have been influenced [positively] by the DOT houses though."

An interesting observation is that the "subdivision" idea used in the building of these rental houses, with standard lots

adjacent to one another, has not been accepted in Trepassey. The newer private homes have been built ". . . spread out all around the harbour along the highway." As one man commented, "People here were amazed that, with so much land available, the fishery houses were built so close together, because most people seem to want to be by themselves so as not to have everyone looking in your kitchen window." At present, this poses a dilemma for the Town Council, with the traditional mentality pitted against the economics of town planning.⁵⁷

The boom in housing starts and renovation since the late 1960's is due primarily to the availability of money because of steady employment at the Plant, easy access to credit, and Old Age Pension benefits.⁵⁸ Other causes cited for the boom were: higher education, mobility, greater awareness through television and a familiarity with financing arrangements and the various incentive programs offered by the federal government through The Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Home ownership patterns in Trepassey have changed greatly. While the older homes are still owned outright, some have been renovated with the aid of financing. Most of the new homes have been financed to some degree. Since 1967, over 20% of the houses in Trepassey have been rental units.

As in the other communities, landscaping and a view are now factors in the location and style of newer homes. All of these are insured and have most modern conveniences. Electric heating has been the trend, although the cost of this is causing many to consider other alternatives.

The Church, 1949-1979. All respondents stressed the absolute power and influence of the priest in 1949⁵⁹ and several felt that ". . . perhaps this was the best way for the time."⁶⁰

Respondents in Trepassey felt that the role and influence of the priest did not differ between parish and community matters. "What the priest said went, whatever the subject. He was the intermediary between us and the outside and the spokesman in all matters." Regardless of age, all people in Trepassey ". . . had not just a fear of the priest, but also a respect. You wouldn't dare oppose the priest because the whole crowd would turn on you. What he said was right, even if it didn't seem to be."

With respect to mission communities (those communities within the parish but only visited periodically by the priest), the priest's role and influence was not as strong as in Trepassey. In these, the teacher usually acted as the priest's "right hand man" in parish matters, but community issues were the prerogative of permanent local leaders.⁶¹

Although there were Holy Name and Altar Societies in Trepassey, these served only as information and working committees for the priest. The Presentation Sisters operated the schools, and this broadened and increased Church influence, but all major decisions were still made by the priest.

Most respondents indicated that there is little difference today from 1949 in parish decision-making. "The priest still makes all the decisions, and there is no real chance for input except for individual contact. He would listen, but it wouldn't change his mind."

The older people wouldn't go to him, and the younger ones don't care."

There is no parish council, and about this Fr. Maloney commented:

I don't see the point of having a parish council just for the sake of saying there is a council. All parishes have always had the nucleus of a parish council inasmuch as there has always been a core of good and interested workers.⁶²

Although the authority of the priest remains in parish matters, his influence has diminished greatly. "Only the older people are really influenced much by the priest these days. He doesn't have the contact with the young people." Several young respondents added, however, that it wasn't just a matter of lack of contact. "Fr. Maloney has been here too long," commented one young man. "He has done an awful lot for the place. But we know him too well now--his weak points and failings. He isn't just 'the priest', but also an individual like the rest of us."

Reflecting on the causes for the loss of influence in parish matters, most respondents indicated the same general reasons offered in the other parishes: secularization, sophistication, higher education levels, and a greater awareness and desire on the part of individuals to think and decide for themselves. As one woman stated: "Religion doesn't seem to mean as much to people today. The priest isn't the centre of our lives like he used to be. There are so many other things now besides the parish."

As in Melrose, "The constant involvement with non-Catholic friends at work, in school and in other activities," is considered an important factor in the changed attitude toward the priest and Church.

Most respondents considered that the changes within the Church introduced by the Second Vatican Council, have also contributed to the diminished influence, for the same reasons as indicated in the previous case studies.

As in the other communities with the exception of Buchanan's Junction, the authority of the priest has gradually waned as people have become more aware of their own abilities and as more and more functions of the priest were taken over by other organizations and agencies. For example, since the formation of the Town Council, the priest is no longer the spokesman for the community. He has no authority over the Council and ". . . no special influence that any other prominent resident doesn't have." Fr. Maloney recognizes this, and considers it as ". . . a mark of progress and maturity on the part of the people and the Council." It is recognized, however, that he still exercises moral power or influence over many individuals, and, in this way, could exert considerable influence in Council matters.

As one respondent concluded, "The priest, because he is the priest, still sways a lot of the older people."⁶³ But, with the younger ones, if he has any influence at all, it is because of the kind of person he is."

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This will involve a brief recapitulation of the changes found in five Newfoundland outport communities during the period 1949 to 1979. The focus is on the major changes and processes involved in

three specific areas; community government, housing and the role and influence of the Catholic Church.

Community Government, 1949-1979

In 1949 there was no formal structure of government in any of the five communities. In the three communities with a resident priest, the functions of liaison with outside agencies, decision-making and control were considered to be part of his role. The latter function was the priest's even though two of the three communities had a local policeman. In the two communities without a resident priest, there was no control framework other than whatever regional police authority existed and decisions were made by local leaders. Neither was there any formal or official structure for liaison with other communities and outside agencies. There were few, if any, planning decisions made at that time, and fiscal responsibility consisted of the local roads Chairman spending the grants supplied by the central government. Local school government was, in theory, the responsibility of a school board, but this authority, in practice, resided fully in the hands of the local priest.

After Confederation and a push by the provincial government to promote local self-responsibility, these communities gradually assumed some degree and form of local government--starting with St. Brendan's in 1953 through to the preparatory stage of local government in Buchans Junction today.

The local MHA's and the provincial Department of Municipal Affairs have been quite involved in initiating local government

bodies. Community initiative has come from either the local priest or from other resident leaders who "sold" the idea with promises of financial incentives and increased community services.

Once established, there has been no instance of Church or any other opposition to a local community council. To date, the councils seem to have been effective and well-accepted in spite of the residents' apparent apathy. Councils have gradually taken over the responsibilities hitherto assumed by or thrust upon the Church and the central government.

Presently, the functions of the local governments which were studied include the provision of essential community services, regulation and control, external liaison, local taxation, and a limited degree of planning.

Housing, 1949-1979

In the area of housing, in 1949, there was relatively little difference between the five communities except for Harbour Main, where most homes had access to electricity. Patterns of ownership, architectural style and layout, procedures of construction and maintenance, and provision of essential services were basically the same throughout. There was no central heating or water and sewer service except in individual cases usually involving the more affluent or elite of the community. The same was true of insurance. Landscaping was limited to the routine maintenance of fences for the protection of vegetable or hay gardens. In each of the communities there seems to have been relatively little money invested in homes,

both during and after initial construction. The construction was usually done on a family basis with most of the raw materials obtained locally. The chief investment was in time and labour.

All five communities have experienced a dramatic change on the housing scene during the past ten to twelve years. New home construction and the major renovation of older homes have increased greatly. The trend is away from the traditional designs and towards a ranch or split-level house with a basement. There is a greater emphasis on appearance and as a result more care is taken with landscaping and the provision and maintenance of ranch-type fences. Most of the new construction has involved some degree of financing, and this is true also in many instances where renovation and refurnishing has taken place. Home insurance is quite common, although some of the older homes, even though renovated, are still uninsured. All homes have access to electricity and enjoy the benefits of modern conveniences and appliances. Running water and sewage disposal are available as a community service in only three of the communities. At present, however, most households in the other communities have private systems.

In the interviews, the causes usually offered to explain the change in housing were modernization and the increased availability of money. "Modernization" included higher education levels, exposure through mobility and media to more and newer ideas, more sophistication, and the activities of local governments. The increased availability of money in two of the communities is explained by the expansion of local industry, but this is not a factor in the other

three. In these, the only contributing factors were the various federal transfer payments and home improvement schemes offered in recent years.

Role and Influence of the Church, 1949-1979

With the exception of Buchans Junction, the boundaries of communities and parishes were cotermini in 1949, and the influence of the priest was unqualified, encompassing all age groups in each community. His position as parish priest gave him the legal authority to exercise all administrative functions and decisions in the parish. Frequently, this was done with little consultation with the parishioners.

In community affairs, the priest carried out most of the functions that would otherwise be attributed to a local government. Although without legal authority, the community expected him to have the strongest voice in community decisions, to act as spokesman and liaison for the community, and to provide some degree of community control and discipline. In St. Brendan's, he was also expected to perform the roles of doctor and banker.

Changes in both the role and influence of the priest came about during the late 1960's, mainly because of two significant realities: the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church and the adoption of a system of local government by most of the communities. There were other contributing factors arising from changes in the people themselves. These included: an increased secularization fostered by higher education levels, greater affluence, exposure to

new ideas and attitudes through mobility and the media and the proliferation of various agencies and organizations within the communities.

At present, the role of the priest in parish administration depends on the existence of a parish council. If there is a functioning, effective council, the role of administrator is carried out by this agency. If there is no council, the priest still exercises this function, as before, with no provision for real participation from parishioners. In either case, the influence of the priest has diminished greatly. This is most pronounced with the younger segment of the parish, but, to a limited degree, is also found with the older people.

In community matters, the priest's role is generally no different than that of any other influential local leader. There are some older individuals, however, on whom the priest has a traditional sway due to their "faith" or sense of loyalty. More commonly, the priest's influence in community matters has diminished greatly, and any impact he might have is more attributable to his ability and personality than to his position as a parish priest.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Including usually, the merchant, the teacher, Justice of the Peace, local roads chairman, and one or two of the recognized leaders from each "cove"--usually the more prominent "skipper men" or boat builders.

² An example was the choice offered to St. Brendan's in the late 1940's between a nursing station and a new wharf. The decision, made by the priest, was for the wharf.

³ Up to the mid 1960's, the priest was responsible for community control and discipline. The RCMP visited St. Brendan's once each year as a matter of routine. No one questioned the priest's authority without community ostracization. He was also responsible for providing medical service until a medical clinic was built there in the late 1960's. Up to that time, a doctor would visit during the ice-free months (May to December), but on an irregular basis. In most instances, the priest administered all medication (supplied by the Department of Health in St. John's), and looked after emergencies to the best of his ability.

⁴ Among these, a development council initiated by Shallow as an anti-resettlement move, and a local school committee.

⁵ "Some people here are not sure who is responsible for the Fish Holding Plant in Penny's Cove--the Council or the Association. Also, it seems like there is money available [\$35,000] to the Association to do up the hall, but the Council has no say in it."

⁶ For example, the decision of the Council in 1977 regarding artesian wells as the source of community water supply.

⁷ A U.S. military base in western Newfoundland. "In 1954 there was 63 St. Brendan's men working in Stephenville, and a lot more like the Furlongs, Crokes and Bridgemans was still into the Labrador."

⁸ The priest and several other families had private lighting plants which were used to provide electricity during the evening for a limited number of households.

⁹ This lumber was usually sawn from logs which had been cut "up the bay" (on the nearby mainland or on some of the other islands).

¹⁰ Usually, a father would supervise the work in the building of his sons' houses as they got married and "moved out."

¹¹ St. Brendan's was noted for its "house times" or "sprees", especially before the crews left and when they returned from the

Labrador, and also during the winter months for twine knitting sessions.

¹² A diesel power generating station, located in Shoals Cove and supplying electricity for all communities on a 24 hour a day basis.

¹³ During my tenure as parish priest at St. Brendan's (1959-64), I acted in this capacity, and represented the community in dealings with the government. As is obvious from the comments of Community Council representatives, Bill Shallow also acted in this capacity to an even greater degree during his tenure (1964-72).

¹⁴ A move to have Melrose included within the boundaries of Port Union had been blocked by some Port Union Council members. Instead, Melrose residents were told that they couldn't get any services from Port Union, but that they would be under that town's jurisdiction. This resulted in "a delegation, headed by the priest, going in to St. John's and having a racket about it." In fact, this "racket" was with the senior government official responsible for community planning and boundaries. The result was that the boundaries remained the same, thus preventing relocation of the Port Union town dump nearer to Melrose, and the exclusion of some Melrose houses from the community.

¹⁵ I was the priest involved at the time. From the fall of 1966, and up to the next fall, I had attempted to explain the purpose and workings of local government. My chief motive at the time was to have a mechanism which could take advantage of government grants, and thus allow some much needed community improvements.

¹⁶ Unless 51% or more of the residents favoured local government, no further steps could be taken.

¹⁷ Two very influential businessmen and liberal supporters in the area.

¹⁸ The Progressive Conservative government took office in 1972.

¹⁹ Some resentment was expressed over the fact that Melrose did not "get the lights" until 1950, even though the Union Light and Power Company headquarters was less than a mile away. "We burned our eyes out down in the stages for years, and we couldn't get the lights because we were Catholic. If the Catholics had not got up against Coaker in the beginning, we would have had the lights here fifty years ago."

²⁰ Most Melrose workers have been employed at the Fishery Products Fish Processing Plant in Port Union since it opened in the 1950's. Up to 1970 the operation was for six months of the year, so that all workers had to rely on unemployment insurance during the winter. Since the Plant went into year round operation in 1970, "Everyone from Melrose, male and female, who wants to work can have it every day of the year."

²¹ A Comment from an old age pensioner, who was "... making use of the bit of pension to have it as good as we can."

²² Information supplied by a respondent who was the local insurance agent.

²³ These were established in the mid 1950's, but "They were always dependent on the priest. He decided on the agenda. If he didn't show up, there was no meeting."

²⁴ This fear stems from several instances since 1971 when an individual priest has overruled the Council's decision.

²⁵ These committees were suggested by the MHA who helped in the initial stages of the committees, and who maintains constant liaison. The Committee for Water and Sewer consisted initially of a group of women concerned about lack of recreation facilities for children. Their interest was diverted to the water and sewer system when almost \$200,000 became available if a responsible group representing the community could be formed.

²⁶ Each of the citizens' committees was sparked by initiative and interest of local residents who made the initial contact with the MHA, but no one individual has been pinpointed as the overall community spokesman.

²⁷ Several of these are currently occupied and are actually spacious, well-constructed homes that now have most modern conveniences. They are located in a beautiful stand of white birch, and are among the most picturesque housing scenes to be found in Newfoundland.

²⁸ Being surrounded by heavily wooded areas, the burning of garbage by each family posed a serious fire danger and was not resorted to.

²⁹ Horses were used for "woods work", and the dog teams were used especially by families that had first come to Buchans Junction as trappers, and were now involved as hunting outfitters and guides.

³⁰ These men had previously stayed at the "bunkhouse" in Buchans with food and lodging expenses deducted from their pay. Now they could live at home and commute to Buchans daily.

³¹ Garbage collection is locally contracted. There is once a week pick-up at a cost of \$2.50 a month.

³² The priest from Buchans made two overnight trips each year to Buchans Junction by train. "He would notify the Maloneys when he was coming down. They would spread the word around. He would stay at Maloneys and have mass and confessions in the house. But he

never had anything to do with the community except when Fr. Fitzgerald put up the school."

³³The school was built in the late 1950's from lumber salvaged from the demolition of the parish hall at Buchans. It consisted of two classrooms, with one doubling as a chapel on Sundays. The school itself became inactive in 1970 due to the small number of students, lack of teachers and the program of centralization of small school units.

³⁴This opposition came from the ladies' Altar Society which saw the Council as another committee "trying to tell us what to do." Only after much meeting and discussion did the basic idea of "authority and responsibility" gain acceptance. No one would accept that "... the priest was going to let us make our own decisions." Proving the sincerity of this commitment involved much patience, frustration and some degree of psychological manipulation.

³⁵Although an ex officio member of the Council, I was not, according to the constitution, allowed to hold an executive position. At their insistence I held a veto vote, which, in the long run, was the means used (by non-use) to convince the people that, with the Parish Council, the authority and the responsibility was really theirs. Agendas, budgets and projects were all decided by Council. The establishment of this Council was not licit according to diocesan policy. Technically, only one council can exist in each parish regardless of the number and location of the missions. In the name of practicality, I had refused to accept this policy as did several other priests in the diocese.

³⁶After success in a fund-raising venture operated by a council sub-committee, an Anglican Church group undertook a similar venture with the assistance and co-operation of the Parish Council. This fostered much goodwill. Another important factor in promoting a positive Church image was the work carried on within the community and the Council by Sister Lois Greene, a member of the Presentation Sisters stationed at Buchans.

³⁷This group consisted of the merchant (P. J. Kennedy), the teacher ("Master" Parsley) and several other recognized leaders including the best carpenters.

³⁸A member of the Newfoundland Constabulary stationed in Harbour Main, but also responsible for law and order in several neighbouring communities.

³⁹An example offered was Fr. Howard's decision in the 1960's to remove the spires from the Church in spite of parish opposition.

⁴⁰ Among those mentioned were P. Kavanagh, W. Hawco, R. Terry and F. Fleming.

⁴¹ Of these 280 houses, ten are trailer homes and ten are unoccupied.

⁴² Water is pumped from private wells, with sewage disposal by septic tank.

⁴³ "Old people today are purposely 'built out' of new houses. That is, modern houses are built with just enough rooms for the nuclear family. Old People's Homes are a result, not a cause, of smaller homes."

⁴⁴ "Steady employment and the assurance of a pension cheque each month has offered security to people and allowed them to spend money on their homes where '... in earlier days, you were never sure where the next dollar was coming from.'"

⁴⁵ The usual contrast was between Fr. Dwyer (referred to as "a very capable administrator with a genial personality and a knack for dealing with people") and Fr. Howard (considered as being less capable and without the personality and leadership of Fr. Dwyer), or Fr. Kavanagh of Avondale parish ("a saintly man, but not much as an administrator").

⁴⁶ Fr. Howard's strong opposition to the formation of the Community Council, and his inflexible "and often dictatorial stands on many issues" seemed to create a barrier between himself and many of his parishioners.

⁴⁷ These attempts were in the form of requests to the Chairman of the Senate of Priests for help in the matter. Since the Senate had no authority to make decisions concerning a particular parish, the matter became the responsibility of the Bishop. To date no Council has been formed and the parish priest seems opposed to the idea.

⁴⁸ Details of this were provided by Fr. Maloney and corroborated by J. R. Smallwood in an interview during December, 1978.

⁴⁹ The reasons offered by Fr. Maloney for the merchant's not having greater influence was "because their involvement with the people was only during the fishing seasons, from June to August." The teachers were employed by Fr. Maloney and their influence would have usually been in support of any stand taken by him.

⁵⁰ Some men were employed at the U.S. military bases and some were involved in the seasonal inshore fishery, but there were very few employed year round.

⁵¹ From 1954 to 1964, the Plant depended for fish supplies on the local inshore fishery which was seasonal.

⁵² Initiated by J. Pennell around 1966, the Council soon provided garbage collection, street lighting and water and sewer services, and "showed up the rest of the parish."

⁵³ These services include a local RCMP detachment, a fire hall, a modern medical clinic with two doctors and one dentist, water and sewer service, street paving and lighting, garbage collection, good recreational facilities and a town Safety Committee.

⁵⁴ From 1909 to 1930 Trepassey was the southern-most terminal for the Reid Railway. Because it abounded in upland game, partridge, berries and salmon rivers, the area was frequented by tourists. Also, two famous trans-Atlantic air flights originated from Trepassey: Pinedo in 1927 and Earhart in 1928; and this served to make the community an even greater "public spectacle."

⁵⁵ Trepassey was designated as a "receiving community" in 1965, and many families relocated there especially from islands in Placentia Bay.

⁵⁶ The DOT employees were usually permanent, higher paid workers and this helped in assuring better maintenance for their houses.

⁵⁷ Water and sewer services are available only to the centre of town due to the prohibitive costs involved in supplying such services along seven miles of road.

⁵⁸ Plant workers who received \$1 an hour in 1962, now get up to \$8 an hour.

⁵⁹ Although Fr. Maloney's strong personality and ability increased his influence, the basis of this influence was his role as parish priest.

⁶⁰ "We would never have had the Plant here if Fr. Maloney hadn't taken it on himself to do it. We might still be fighting over where it should go if it had been left up to us to decide."

⁶¹ Similar to Melrose in relation to the priest in Bonavista.

⁶² In fact, Fr. Maloney did set up a parish council about four years ago, but "... in his own way. When he realized the Council was disagreeing with his decisions, he refused to call meetings. It's now dead and buried."

63 In Trepassey, the strength of the faith dimension is borne out by the fact that, in the 1972 election, the defeat of the incumbent was, in no small measure, attributed by some respondents to his having slighted the priest by not visiting him during a visit to Trepassey. "Even those who didn't like the priest wouldn't stand for that."

VITA

NAME: James Raymond Hawco
PLACE OF BIRTH: Harbour Main, Newfoundland
YEAR OF BIRTH: 1936

POST SECONDARY EDUCATION AND DEGREES:

St. Bonaventure's College, St. John's, Newfoundland
1951-52 Grade XII

University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario
1953-55 Baccalaureate in Philosophy
1955-57 Baccalaureate in Theology
1957-59 Licentiate in Theology

University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta
1977-79 Master of Arts in Community Development

RELATED WORK EXPERIENCE

Catholic priest in outport Newfoundland
1959-77

Various involvements in educational, recreational and other community activities at the local, provincial and national levels.